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AN
ACCOUNT
OF THE
First SETTLEMENT, LAWS, Form of
GOVERNMENT, and POLICE,
OF THE
CESSAREES,
A People of SOUTH AMERICA:

In Nine LETTERS,

From Mr. VANDER NECK, one of the Senators of
that Nation, to his Friend in *Holland*.

WITH
m. P. Lang
NOTES by the EDITOR,

*There are three things, which regulate States, viz. Necessity, Laws,
and Police. Τρία γὰρ εἰσὶ, κ. τ. λ. Μενανδ. in Epitr.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. PAYNE, at the *Feathers*, Pater-noster-row.
MDCCLXIV.



P R E F A C E.

HOW these Letters of Mr. VANDER NECK fell into my hands, it imports the public but little to know. Some of my readers may perhaps view the following account of the CESSARES in much the same light with Sir T. MORE's UTOPIA, rather as what a good man would wish a nation to be, than the true account of the state of one really existing. I shall leave, for an exercise of the Reader's ingenuity, the determination of this point, after only mentioning, that if he pleases to consult Ovalle's Account of Chili, in the third volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages; Feuillet's Observations on South America; and Martiniere's Dictionnaire Geographique; he will find, that there is really a people called the Cessares,

in a country near the high mountains, Cordilleras de los Andes, between Chili and Patagonia in South America, in the forty-third or forty-fourth degree of south latitude. They are quite different from the Indians of those parts, and seem to be Europeans, according to the accounts which historians of the best credit give us. That their country is very pleasant and fruitful, bounded on the west by a great river, which runs very swift. That the sound of bells has been heard there, and linnen been seen spread out to whiten in their fields, as practised by the Dutch in Holland. But the account which is given of them by those authors, is very imperfect, because they will not permit any Spaniard to come into their territories, lest they should thereby be deprived of their liberties: having made a law, that whoever discovers the passes which lead into their country, shall be put to death as a traitor, even though he were at the head of their republic.

SOME have conjectured, that they were originally the crew of three Spanish ships,
which

P R E F A C E. v

which were cast away in the streights of Magellan in 1540: but others with more probability take them to be Dutch, who, losing their ships in the same streights, or rather perhaps on the coast of Patagonia, travelled to these parts and settled here. And this last opinion is confirmed by their form of government, which is a republic; by their speaking a language different from the Spaniards; and by their forbidding any Spaniard to enter their country; which they would scarce have done, had they themselves been originally of the same nation.

HOWEVER this may be, if the scheme of government, laws, and establishments, described in the following pages, are founded in wisdom and justice, and are such as would promote the happiness of a state regulated according to them, I humbly presume this publication will not be thought unseasonable, at a time, when there may be occasion to settle colonies in the extensive countries, which the Divine blessing on our efforts in the late glorious war, has added to the British empire.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
C E S S A R E S, &c.

To Mr. VANDER ZEE, at AMSTERDAM.

L E T T E R I.

The reasons which induced the author and his friends to leave Holland, and settle in a distant and uninhabited country. The distresses of many poor families in Europe at that time. How the lands were divided among the Israelites by Joshua; and also among the Lacedemonians by Lycurgus. The author's scheme.

DEAR SIR,

Sept. 28, 1618.

YOUR Letter from Paris, dated March 3, 1606, I received a few weeks before I left Holland; but the preparations I was then making for a long voyage, prevented me from returning you any answer. To atone for my silence, I shall now give you a full account
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of every particular you desire: the motives which induced me and my friends to leave our native country, and to make a small settlement in a distant and uninhabited land; the form of government which we have erected; together with a short description of the country; and some account of our laws, customs, employments, and manner of life. Though I am uncertain whether I shall ever have an opportunity of sending my letters to you, not only on account of the wars, which (I suppose) still subsist between Spain and the Seven United Provinces; but also because our laws forbid us to carry on any correspondence with the Spaniards in Chili, through whose territories alone we can send any packet to Europe. And this prohibition cannot but appear wise and just to you, who know their restless ambition, avarice, and bigotry [a]: for if

[a] It is no wonder the Cessares should be afraid of holding any correspondence with the Spaniards: for Casas one of their own bishops assures us, that on their first discovery of America, their avarice, ambition, and tyranny were such, that in order to possess themselves of the wealth and country of the Indians, they treated them, during the term of forty years, with the greatest cruelty and barbarity, inflicted upon them all kinds of torments, put above twelve millions of them to death, and made their countries desolate and waste. Nay, according to the account of the abovementioned author, above fifty millions of them died in that space of time. This conduct of the Spaniards must appear detestable and horrid beyond expression, when we consider (as Casas informs us) that the Indians, whom they thus barbarously treated, had never given them any cause to commit such violences upon them, but on the con-

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we had any commerce with them, they would soon become acquainted with our situation and strength; and would very probably march into our country with a powerful army, subvert our happy constitution, freedom, and independence, and establish the Popish religion with all its cruelties among us.

THE fear of these direful calamities from a threaten'd invasion of the Spaniards, under Spinola, in 1606, was one great motive for our leaving Holland, and seeking a peaceful and quiet retreat in some distant region free from the alarms and terrors of war, the fatal effects of which we well knew and dreaded: for when a land becomes the seat of war, the distresses of its inhabitants are often greater than words can express; more especially as our enemies had determined (if they should have proved successful) to root out the reform'd religion; whereby all those protestants, who would not have tamely submitted to the arbitrary and tyrannical power usurped by the Romish clergy over the souls and consciences of men, would have been exposed to the greatest tortures and sufferings. Nor were these fears imaginary, but too well founded on the horrid cruelties exercised on the protes-

trary, were naturally simple, artless, tractable, and of a sweet disposition, humble, patient and submissive, even to the Spaniards who enslaved them. See *Casas's relation of the Spanish cruelties in the West Indies*, page 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 15.

tants in the Low Countries, not many years before, by the bloody duke of Alva [b].

[b] THE duke of Alva was made governor of the Netherlands by Philip the second, King of Spain in 1567. As soon as he came thither, he imprison'd and tortur'd the protestants of every age, sex and condition; and the gallows, the wheels, and even the trees in the highways, were loaded with the bodies or limbs of those whom he put to death. He told the magistrates of Antwerp, that the king had rather see all his territories deserted and uncultivated, than suffer one heretic to remain in them.—The king having also consulted the Spanish inquisitors about the affairs of the Netherlands; they told him, they were of opinion that the shortest way would be, that all the Netherlanders, except those whose names should be sent from Spain, should be declar'd Heretics, and guilty of high-treason: and particularly those of the nobility, who had presented a petition against erecting an inquisition there. Philip approv'd their advice, and commanded the duke of Alva to execute it. Upon which he proceeded against the whole nation, letting loose his murdering emissaries, to satiate their avarice and cruelty on an oppress'd and miserable people. Multitudes left the country, and above a hundred thousand houses were reckon'd to have been deserted on this account. Besides which, the Duke of Alva boasted, that in the space of the five years, he governed there, he had caus'd above eighteen thousand heretics and rebels to be executed, without reckoning any of those, who fell by the sword in battle, in defence of their religion and liberties. See Brandt's *history of the Reformation in the Low Countries*. Book IX. and X.—This Philip the second of Spain acknowledged in a writing which he gave to his son, that he had sacrificed twenty millions of men to his lust of dominion, and had laid more countries waste, than all those which he possess'd in Europe: which is enough to raise horror in every mind not wholly divested of humanity. See Sully's *Memoirs*, Vol. I. p. 496, 497.

BUT

BUT this was not our only motive for leaving our native country ; we had another end in view, noble, generous, and disinterested, in itself ; which was the relieving a few honest, sober, and industrious families, who were in great poverty and distress, and the providing for them and their posterity a comfortable subsistence, under such a form of Government, as would be productive of the most beneficial and salutary consequences to every individual. Such a design, every person who is not insensible of the feelings of humanity and benevolence, and lost to every worthy and generous sentiment, must highly applaud. For if it is charitable and praiseworthy, to give only a transient relief to our fellow-creatures, labouring under the wants and difficulties of life ; how much more charitable and God-like must it be, to give them a perpetual security from those evils (as far as this changeable and imperfect state will admit of) by putting them in the full possession of all the necessaries of life ; by securing to them the delightful enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties, under the government of laws founded upon justice, goodness, wisdom, and equity ; and by transmitting all these invaluable blessings to their posterity ?

It is a melancholy reflection to a good and humane person, that distress and poverty should be the lot of a great part of the inhabitants of the most civilized and Christian nations. Yet great numbers of sober and industrious persons are to be found in Christian countries, in an abject condition, without one foot of land, though many thousands of acres lie waste and uncultivated. How many are there, who are unable to maintain themselves and families by their daily labour or employment, destitute of the necessaries and comforts of life, pinched by want and cold, perhaps labouring under various diseases, or groaning under the infirmities of old age, without help, support or relief, except the poor pittance, which perhaps an overburthened parish allows them? Yet God has a real regard and concern for the good and welfare of every one of the human race, the poor as well as the rich, for both are equally the work of his hands. He has also given to most of those nations such a quantity of ground, as is sufficient to supply the wants of their several inhabitants, and make their lives comfortable. But unhappily some few, attentive only to their own private interest, and unconcerned for the good of others, have engrossed the greatest part of the land, and left but little for the rest: whereas, if there had been a more equal division
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of it, every one would have had enough for a decent and plentiful maintenance, by easy labour and industry [c].

[c] THE case of the Poor has long been the object of serious consideration, their evils and sufferings are many, and every good man would wish to alleviate them. Many of them are the most useful members of society, and it is from their labour and industry, that the rich derive their comforts and conveniences. And when age, sickness or infirmities come upon them, and incapacitate them for their daily labour, surely it is but common justice, that they should be provided for. The poor's rate in England and Wales is grown to a most exorbitant height, and some years ago amounted to 1, 700,000*l.* a year, according to a calculation made by Sir Joseph Jekyll. And the number of persons who receive the Poor's rate and other alms, is computed to be no less than 400,000. — Dr. Grew reckons there are about 46 millions of acres in England and Wales, one sixth part of which are commons, heaths, forests, chases &c. Now if some of these were to be divided among the sober and industrious poor, the poor's rate would be lessened, great numbers of families would be made happy, and marriage would be encourag'd, on which the strength of a nation depends. About 5, 6 or 7 acres of land (according to the goodness and nature of the soil) would be sufficient for every man, and enable him also to pay one or two shillings a year quit rent to those persons, whose right of commoning there, would then be taken away. And as this portion of land would not be enough to employ their whole time, the men would still work at their respective trades and employments, and the women and children spin wool, flax, or cotton for our manufactures. And tho' some of them would prove idle and vicious, and abuse such a grant; yet it is probable that the greatest part of them would be induced to be sober and diligent: for as a man oppress'd with poverty, notwithstanding all his continual labour and care, naturally gives himself up to sloth and despair; so the having an estate which he can call his own, is no small inducement to

NOR is this a visionary scheme never yet executed. For such was the happy constitution of the Israelites, when they were first settled in the land of Canaan by Joshua : every man had an estate of his own, which was hereditary and unalienable [*d*]. This equal division of the land cut off the means of luxury with its temptations, checked pride and ambition, and established the habits of industry and diligence among them. And therefore God highly exclaims a-

sobriety, industry, vigour and alacrity. — At the first establishment of the colony of Georgia in America, every poor man had a lot of fifty acres granted to him and his male heirs, which was to be preserv'd for ever separate and undivided, nor could the owner sell it, or even let it to another person, without a license for that purpose : that every one might be oblig'd to cultivate his own lands, and that no one might have more than one lot. See *Moore's voyage to Georgia*, p. 7, 8.

[*d*] EVERY man's share was above 16 acres. See *Lowman on the civil government of the Hebrews*, p. 39. — This was a sufficient estate for any family in that climate, and in those ages, when they were happily ignorant of the luxury of our times, and were contented with a plain and simple life. Nay, we find among the ancient Romans, so late as 462 years after the foundation of Rome, that seven Roman acres, which are not above four and a half English acres (the Roman acre being but 240 Roman feet long, and 120 broad) were thought to be enough for any Roman citizen : for Manius Curius, who had been thrice honour'd with a triumph, and was the glory of the age he liv'd in, publicly declar'd, that the Roman, who was not contented with that quantity of land, was a pernicious Citizen. See *Pliny's Natural History*, B. XVIII. ch. 3.

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gainst those selfish and covetous persons, who, afterwards broke through this wise regulation, and engrossed their neighbours estates [*e*].

WE are also assured by historians of the best credit, that even in a Heathen nation, the general good was preferred by the rich to every private view. For when the greatest part of the Lacedemonians were reduced to extreme poverty, while a small number only of particular persons were possessed of the whole country: Lycurgus prevailed upon the rich to give up all their estates, and to have an equal division made of them. Accordingly he divided the whole country into 39,000 equal parts, and gave only one to every citizen. This was such an extraordinary instance of zeal for the good of others, as is not to be equalled in the history of any other nation [*f*].

SUCH a generous and disinterested conduct, and so sure and solid a foundation laid for the happiness of every one, justly excited our admiration, and animated us to settle a new co-

[*e*] *Isaiab* v. 8.

[*f*] EVERY share yielded about 82 medimni or bushels of corn yearly, besides wine, oil, and fruits. It maintain'd also the Helotes who cultivated their lands; and I make no doubt but it also afforded sufficient pasture for their cattle. See *Plutarch's life of Lycurgus*.

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lony on nearly the same plan. But that our posterity might enjoy the same advantages with ourselves, we determined to allow no one any more land, than would be sufficient to answer every necessary and useful purpose, and to reserve the rest for our descendants, as their numbers should increase. We further agreed, that every one should have an equal share, that so we might check every proud, ambitious, and destructive passion, and banish riches as well as poverty from us. And the more effectually to preserve that innocence, simplicity, and regularity of life, which we hoped to establish among us, we fixt upon a distant and retired country, out of the common course of trade: for though some commerce with other nations would be attended with several advantages to us, yet we were afraid it would be productive of some unhappy consequences, and bring in luxury, and customs injurious to the welfare of our state. Besides, sailors, as well as soldiers, are too apt to introduce drunkenness, debauchery, and irreligion, which destroy every good and excellent disposition, and that sober, modest, and decent behaviour, which is so amiable and praise-worthy, and on which the happiness of society depends.

I am, &c.

L E T.

L E T T E R II.

The author's and his friend's prudent choice of proper persons to go with them. They lay before them the difficulties and hardships they must expect to meet with, which has a happy effect. They fix upon their form of government and laws: and choose their governors and magistrates. They conceal the name of the country they are going to. A general list of the things they carried with them. They set sail from Holland in two ships, but lose one of them on the coast of Patagonia, which obliges them to settle on the western side of that country.

DEAR SIR,

Nov. 9, 1618:

HAVING in my first Letter acquainted you with our design, I shall now give you some account of our proceedings in it.

MR. Alphen and myself, who first formed the scheme, and furnished the necessary expences, judged it of the utmost importance, that
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all the first settlers of our colony should be such as sincerely approved of our design, and were sober, peaceable and industrious, as its success would greatly depend upon their dispositions: for if our proposal had been made public, and we had accepted of all that offered themselves indiscriminately, without any regard to their temper or conduct, some of them would soon have become impatient of the restraint of wholesome laws, proved factious and turbulent, and endeavoured to destroy our form of government, and set up a different one of their own, which at last would have ended in anarchy and utter ruin [g].

WE therefore privately proposed our design to about 150 poor, laborious, and industrious families, into whose tempers and conduct we had previously enquired. Some few rejected it, but the far greater number approved of and cheerfully embraced our scheme. Among these last there were some husbandmen, bricklayers, carpenters, and blacksmiths, together with persons of other different occupations, who were of

[g] THIS was a wise conduct: and it was for want of such a prudent choice, that a few discontented and self-conceited persons made the town of Savanna in Georgia very unhappy at its first settlement; while there was perfect peace and tranquillity at Frederica, owing to the better temper and disposition of its inhabitants. See *Stephens's Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, Vol. I. p. 14, 15, 46, 53, 77 and 98.

a quiet

a quiet and peaceable disposition, and were masters of their respective employments. We should have been glad also, if persons of several other trades had fallen in with our proposal: but as they did not readily agree to our plan, we thought it best to be without them, and to labour at first under some inconveniencies: not doubting but that care and industry, with the assistance of proper books, would in time make us masters of every necessary and useful business; which in the event has happily proved true.

WE further chose about 200 orphans of both sexes, and different ages, whose parents had left them in a poor and wretched condition, exposed to the snares and evils of life. These we distributed among us, in the cultivation of our lands and other employments, till they either married, or arrived at the age of one and twenty years, at which time they would be entitled to the same privileges, and an estate of their own equal to ours. And to promote marriage and make incontinency inexcusable, we took care that the numbers of the unmarried of each sex in our whole society should be equal.

WE also engaged two ministers to embrace our scheme. They were persons of great piety, and extensive virtue, affable and humble, of
universal

universal charity and benevolence: they understood the Scriptures well, had a plain but agreeable delivery, and a persuasive manner of recommending the great duties of religion: and what was of the greatest importance, their behaviour and lives were agreeable to their precepts [b].

HAVING thus engaged a sufficient number of persons to embark with us in our undertaking, we laid before them all, (particularly such who we had reason to think were too sanguine in their expectations) the difficulties which they must expect to encounter with, both from a long and perhaps a dangerous voyage, as well as after their arrival at the wish'd for port. For as the land was not inhabited, we told them, that we should want at first many of the conveniences of life, and must use great labour and industry before we could obtain them; and must be contented for some time with such provisions as we carried with us, or could readily find there: and that the clearing the lands [i], building the

[b] THIS reminds me of a couple of lines I have somewhere met with, justly describing a truly good Minister.

Behold a man, sincere in word and thought,
Liv'd as he preach'd, and practis'd what he taught.

[i] A machine might be invented to tear up the strongest and best rooted trees, with the assistance of a few men; See *Wilkins's Mathematical Magic*, p. 92 &c. This would be of great use in all such new colonies, as have too many woods.
houses,

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houses, preparing the ground for planting and sowing, and making some necessary fortifications to secure us from the assaults of enemies, would require much time, labour and patience. We therefore desired them to take some time, to weigh all these difficulties deliberately in their own minds, lest they should repent, when it would be too late, and blame us for leading them into dangers and hardships which they did not foresee.

THIS fair and candid procedure, instead of discouraging any of our little society, had a contrary effect. It confirmed and strengthened their resolutions, and they all declared, that being fully sensible of the goodness of our design, and the uprightness and disinterestedness of our intentions, they were firmly resolved to run the risk of the undertaking, and leave the event to Providence: and that if they should struggle with hardships and difficulties, instead of murmuring or repining, they would endure them with patience and chearfulness.

WE then held a general assembly, in which the form of government, and all the laws of our state, (drawn up some time before by Mr. Alphen and myself) were read and carefully considered: and having made such alterations as were judged proper, the whole assembly expressed their approbation of them: and all who

were above 21 years of age sign'd them ; expressing thereby their submission to them, and by that means became entitled to all the privileges of citizenship. Then to prevent any disputes on our arrival at the desired country, all the citizens proceeded to the election of the magistrates, and unanimously fixed upon Mr. Alphen to be our governor, and myself and three others to be senators : they also chose six inspectors, and ratified the choice of the two ministers above-mentioned. And give me leave to add, that all these (my own weaknesses excepted) were persons of a friendly and benevolent temper, who had a great command over their passions, had prudence and discretion to bear with any little failings and imperfections in others, and yet had sufficient firmness to keep them steady to the original plan [k].

[k] THE Passions and affections are implanted in us by God, to answer the wisest intentions. A man without them, would be indolent and inactive, like a Ship in a calm : whereas he who allows them to govern, resembles a Ship with it's sails full spread and without a rudder, which is toss'd about by every sudden gust, and drove by every stormy and tempestuous wind. But he that is truly wise, can restrain or exert them with judgment and prudence, direct them by just and right principles, and govern them by the rules of reason and religion. — An easy thing in theory, but very difficult to practice. — *Milton in the first book of his Paradise Regain'd*, has beautifully express'd himself on this subject.

“ Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to th' ear,
And tuneable as silvan pipe or song :

MR.

Mr. Alphen and myself had already carefully considered the situation and circumstances of the country, where we had designed to settle. But we had disclosed the particular place to very few of our associates, lest it should be publickly known, and our enemies should be acquainted with it, who would not fail to lay wait for us in our voyage, or to attack us immediately on our arrival there, before we could possibly fortify ourselves [1]. But we assured our society,

What wonder then, if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? most men admire
Virtue, who follow not her love".

And again in the second book,

——— " A crown
Brings dangers, troubles, cares and sleepless nights
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,
His honour, virtue, merit and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.
Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king,
Which every wise and virtuous man attains:
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes;
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him, which he serves".

[1] THE late duke of Montagu's intended settlement of the island of St. Lucia in the West Indies in 1722 was prevented, by it's being publickly known before-hand: for the French came upon the English settlers with a large body of troops, a

that in general the climate was temperate, the air healthy, the soil good, and that the place was naturally secure, being difficult of access, and easily fortified: circumstances of the greatest importance to us, who were few in number, not enured to great hardships, nor able to resist, in an open and exposed place, an enemy superior in number, and skilful in the destructive arts of war.

THE next point was to consider what things were necessary to carry with us. This required great thought and foresight; and notwithstanding all our prudence and precaution, we afterwards found that we had forgot several things, which would have been very useful to us.

THE things we provided were as follows:

FIRST, a sufficient quantity of provisions to serve our colony for two years, to prevent the danger which a bad harvest, the first year, might expose us to [m].

few days after they had landed there, and obliged them to quit the island. See *Uring's relation* of this affair.

[m] New settlers should carry the small maiz or Indian corn with them, for it rises very fast, and ripens in so short a time; that from the same field they may have two crops of it in one year. Besides which, it is more agreeable to the taste than the larger kind. See *Du Pratz's history of Louisiana. Vol. II. p. 3.*

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, cloaths of all sorts for several years, that we might not be interrupted in our more necessary employments.

THIRDLY, the household goods for every family: the proper tools for every trade, and a sufficient quantity of iron, tin, and other useful metals, to serve us for some years.

FOURTHLY, the seeds of various kinds of plants, for food and phyfic, for timber and beauty [n].

[n] THE seeds of plants are very apt to be spoiled in long voyages: but Linnæus the celebrated Swedish botanist assures us that the following method will preserve them. Put the seeds into a cylindrical glass bottle, and fill the interstices with dry sand, to prevent their lying too close together; then cork it, or tie a bladder over it. Put this bottle into another glass bottle, so much larger than that which contains the seeds, that, when it is suspended in it, there may be left a vacant place on all sides of about two inches between the two glasses, to be filled with the following powder. Take four parts of salt-petre, and one fifth part, of equal parts of common salt, and sal. ammoniac: these must be well pounded and mixt together. This saline mass (which should be rather moist than dry) will always be so cold, that the seeds in the inner glass will never suffer during the voyage, from the heat of the air. Chestnuts and the like large fruits may be preserved, by dipping them in bees wax made soft by warmth, and inclosing them in a thick coat of it. See the *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. LI. part 1, page 209 &c.

FIFTHLY, some of the most useful drugs and medicines : and also poison to destroy rats, with which most of the uninhabited places abound, where ships have formerly touched [o].

SIXTHLY, the necessary animals for food and labour.

SEVENTHLY, guns, and such other instruments of war, as were necessary to defend ourselves from enemies.

EIGHTHLY, the best books of all sorts, particularly such as relate to every useful trade, art, and science.

NINTHLY, as houses or even huts cannot be immediately built, and the lying under tents is generally found to be unwholesome ; we had ten wooden houses framed in such a manner, that they could be taken to pieces for the convenience of carriage, and easily put together again and erected for use on our landing: two were for

[o] THIS was a very good thought: for rats greatly abound in many of the uninhabited islands, and on the sea coasts, where ships have touched: but more especially where any ships have been wrecked. The first settlers of St. Helena and Bermudas were so infested by them, that their corn and many of their plants and fruits were devoured by them.

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the men, four for the women and children, and the rest for our provisions and stores [p]. And further, as the grinding of corn, and the sawing of timber are very laborious works, we took with us several little corn and saw mills [q].

HAVING thus endeavoured to provide every thing which was necessary or useful, in the best manner we could, we hired two ships, and agreed with the Captains to carry us to whatever part of the world we should chuse. We then put on board each ship, the half of every sort of our

[p] SMALL houses stand in the market-place at Moscow in Russia by hundreds ready made, and put up for sale : and when one of them is sold, it is taken to pieces, and being carried to the place where it is to be set up, it is erected there in a very short time. *See the Present State of Russia, Vol. I. p. 126.*— But if tents were made double, and the inner ones were made of oil cloth, or of painted cloth, they would be much drier and warmer than common tents are : nor would the sun be able to crack or injure the inner ones, nor the rain or dews to soak through them.

[q] THESE, I suppose, were worked by the wind. In New England they have saw mills of a cheap and slight work, which generally stand upon small streams. And though they often carry only one saw, yet a man and a boy attending upon one of them, can in 24 hours saw 4000 feet, or about 160 boards of the white Pine : these boards are generally one inch thick, and from 15 to 25 feet long, and 1 or 2 feet broad. *See Douglass's State of the British Colonies in North America, Vol. II. p. 54.*— They have also in Scotland, and in the Isle of Man, both corn and saw mills of an easy and cheap construction.

provisions and stores; that if one of our ships should be wrecked, the other might not be destitute of any one article. We then set sail from our native country, humbly recommending ourselves to the protection and blessing of God; being fully sensible, that it was he alone, who could preserve us from every unfortunate accident, give us health and strength, inspire us with wisdom and prudence, and prosper our undertaking: at the same time we determined to submit patiently to his wise providence, if it should please him to disappoint any of our designs. And though we were prevented from going to the place we had proposed [r], by one of our ships running ashore on the coast of Patagonia; yet, as our lives and cargo were pre-

[r] It seems probable, that they had designed to settle in some island of the Great South Sea, perhaps that of John Fernandes, which is a most agreeable place, and in a temperate climate. And it is worthy our observation, that all those small islands, which lie at a considerable distance from the continent, enjoy a more equable and temperate air, and are both warmer in winter, and cooler in summer, than the continent is, in the same latitude. The reason is, because the sea is never so much heated or cooled as the land is, and therefore the sea asswages the heat of the summer, and moderates the cold of the winter: the saline quality also, with which the sea air is generally thought to be impregnated, makes it more healthy. And hence it is, that the Madera and Bermudas islands in about 32 degrees of latitude enjoy a kind of perpetual spring: and that the air of the island of St. Helena, though it lies in the 16th degree of latitude, is always temperate and healthy.

served,

LETT. II. THE CESSARES. 23

served, things turned out in the end extremely well, and perhaps to our advantage. For, being unable to proceed on our voyage by the loss of this ship, we sent out several of our people to examine the country about us, who at length discovered a retired and uninhabited place on the western side of Patagonia, where we soon settled, in a country fertile, healthy, and pleasant, fortified by nature: so that we enjoy all the blessings, which we can reasonably expect or even wish for in this life. But our laws forbid me to disclose the particular place of our abode, or the passages which lead to it; lest any nation should be tempted by the lust of power and dominion to make a conquest of us, to destroy our constitution, and rob us of those inestimable privileges, our civil and religious liberties. We live secluded from the rest of the world, unmixed with any of the nations around us, have no ambitious views of enlarging our dominions, nor any wicked designs of enslaving others: but we know the princes of this world too well ever to trust them.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R III.

The form of government they established, consisting of a governor, who is hereditary, and of senators, who are chosen by the citizens. The author's objections to an aristocracy, and democracy, and monarchy. Yet he gives three instances of excellent kings who were possessed of abilities, integrity and zeal for the public good, and shews the great happiness their subjects enjoyed under them, and adds that, if all kings were such, monarchy would be the most desirable form. He then warmly expatiates against bad Kings, especially such as are called heroes, who delight in wars, and the destruction of mankind: and gives some good advice to historians, who write the lives of Princes. And concludes with an account of several excellent laws established by the inca's of Peru.

DEAR SIR,

Febr. 1, 1619.

I SHALL now give you some account of that particular form of government which we have erected here, with the reasons which induced us to fix upon it.

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As the safety and happiness of the whole nation ought to be the great end and design of every government, so we have endeavoured to keep this grand object always in view, and not to aggrandize one man, or set of men, to the prejudice and detriment of the rest. All men are here considered as brethren, united together in one band, to promote the common good. But as civil dissensions, turbulent factions, and precipitate determinations, are found by experience to be the constant effects of a popular government; we agreed that the citizens should chuse, out of their own body, a certain number of persons, called senators, who, in conjunction with the governor, should be invested with the supreme and legislative power. But as many inconveniencies are also found to arise from the execution of the laws by a number of persons, in whose hand the supreme power is lodged: it was agreed to commit the executive power to one man only, whom we call the governor. But as the governor may not always be possessed of proper abilities to conduct the reins of government, or may be disposed to execute such schemes, as may be destructive to the public good: his power is limited, and his authority carefully restrained by our laws.

SUCH

SUCH in general is the form which we have established, as the best and wisest we could frame; and in which we endeavoured to guard against the evils and inconveniencies which attend the other forms. For history clearly shews us, that the absolute rule of one man only, if wholly independent of the rest, introduces tyranny and oppression: that where the supreme power is lodged in several persons, jealousies and factions are too apt to arise about precedence and superiority: and that a popular government is giddy and inconstant, rash and tumultuous, full of discord and confusion, and at last often ends in slavery to some eloquent and ambitious man, who puts himself at the head of the lower people, and erects a monarchy on the ruins of the popular government. But by the mixt form which we have settled, we have endeavour'd to secure our rights and liberties, to preserve a due balance, and keep a happy medium between the tyranny of arbitrary monarchy, the factions of aristocracy, and the anarchy, licentiousness, and wild tumults of a democracy [s].

[s] LICENTIOUSNESS must be the ruin of every state, as it consists in doing whatever the will, appetites, and passions suggest. But true liberty desires only the freedom of doing what is agreeable to the dictates of reason; and the rules of religion: and steadily submits to, and chearfully obeys just laws, enjoined by

I AM

I AM indeed very sensible, that a monarchy would be the best form of government, if kings were always possessed both of abilities suited to their exalted station, and of that uprightness and benevolence of heart, as to be always attentive to, and disposed to make the good of their subjects the sole and ultimate end of, their administration.

Two instances of this kind we have in Gelo and Hiero, kings of Syracuse in Sicily : who, though they first obtained their dominion by violent and unjust methods, yet afterwards became excellent kings. Gelo in particular seems to have reigned with no other view than to do good, from a zeal for the public welfare, and to make thousands of his fellow creatures happy. He established liberty without allowing licentiousness, and banished, from his kingdom, luxury, pomp, and ostentation. He set his subjects an amiable pattern of piety and modesty, of a plain, industrious, and regular life. He contented

proper authority ; and is fully convinced that the preserving peace and good order, with proper reverence to persons in authority, are absolutely necessary for the happiness of every nation.—A certain person having advised Lycurgus to establish a democracy or popular government at Sparta, he wisely answered : Begin it first in your own house, and let every one there be as great a lord and master as another. *See Plutarch's Banquet of the Seven Sages,*

himself

himself with making the laws rule, and not his own will, was possessed of a spirit superior to all tyranny and oppression, and carefully taught his subjects, that both himself and they ought to be governed by reason and wisdom. Such an excellent conduct and administration brought the highest reputation and glory to himself, and the greatest happiness to his people, by whom he was greatly admired and beloved.

HIERO, the second of that name and King of the same City, behaved with the greatest wisdom and justice for near fifty years, applied himself to root out idleness and luxury, the parents of many vices; to encourage frugality and industry, to bring agriculture into just reputation and honour, and to make his subjects universally happy. By his prudent conduct he secured to them the blessings of peace and a perfect tranquillity for many years, while his neighbours were cruelly ravaging and destroying one another: and he shewed by all his actions, that his principal aim was to gain the love and esteem of his people; and that he considered himself in no other light, than as the protector and father of his country.

ADD to these, Alfred king of England, justly surnamed the Great: who exhibited to
his

LETT. III. THE CESSARES. 29

his subjects an amiable example of a wise and regular self-government, of piety and steady virtue. Under his auspicious reign learning was encouraged, vice and licentiousness were suppressed, corruption and venality discouraged, and tyranny and oppression banished. He was, in the truest sense, the father of his people, the defender of their property, the assertor of their privileges, and the founder and guardian of their liberties. In his wars, which were undertaken only in the defence of the nation, he was brave; in conquest humane; in council calm and deliberate; and in peace he consulted in the most effectual manner the good of his subjects, by enacting and strictly executing the most salutary laws; which will remain for ever, standing monuments of his eminent abilities, the integrity of his heart, and his ardent zeal for the common good.

Now, if all kings were possessed of abilities, integrity, and zeal for the public good equal to these: monarchy undoubtedly would be the most eligible form of government, and most conducive to the happiness of a nation. But how few of these are to be found? Search the histories of all nations, how seldom do they appear? Trace in your mind the characters of most kings, and you will find that covetousness, or the love of pomp and grandeur, or luxury and an unbounded indulgence of sensual pleasure,
or

or else the lust of power and dominion, have been their predominant principles. The result of which has been, that arbitrary monarchs have frequently proved to be the plagues of the world. Who, without any just provocation, have invaded their neighbours territories, broke down the barriers of public faith and treaties, and trampled upon law, justice, equity, and every thing that is held sacred and venerable by God and man, to accomplish their tyrannical and ambitious views. Such were Alexander, Julius Cæsar, and others of both ancient and modern fame; who by fawning flatterers have been styled heroes.—heroes! rather the butchers of the human race, and the enslavers of the world! But unhappily these plagues of mankind, instead of being mentioned by historians with that infamy, horror, and detestation which they deserve; have had their crimes palliated, softened and varnished over, been set up as objects of admiration and delight, and as the glory of human nature, meerly on account of their courage, and skill in destroying their fellow creatures, and in overwhelming whole kingdoms in desolation and ruin. Such are the illustrious worthies, who have been too often made the subject of Panegyric [1]!

[1] THE number of men which Alexander murdered in his wars, is not given us in history. *Pliny in his Natural History*, B. vii. *cb.* 25. informs us, that Julius Cæsar destroyed near one million, two hundred thousand of the Gauls, &c. besides those Romans

BUT it were greatly to be wished, that historians were not only men of abilities and extensive knowledge, but also friends to liberty and virtue: who would strip the tyrant of all his gaudy plumes, and display him as (what he really is) the enemy of God, and the curse of man, and with peculiar marks of infamy and abhorrence. Whereas on the contrary, those Kings who were a blessing to the world, and whose labours were consecrated to promote religion, peace, and virtue, and to make their subjects free and happy, ought to be painted in the most animating and lively colours, as the ornaments of mankind, and the glory of the human race. For the great end and design of history, is not merely to serve for amusement, curiosity, or trifling discourse, but to give a just representation of facts, to free virtue from that mist and darkness, which the passions, prejudices, and follies of mankind have thrown around it, and display it in it's own intrinsic beauty and excellence: and likewise to

that were slain in the civil wars, which perhaps were half that number: and without mentioning the millions of widows, orphans &c. which were made miserable by these destructions. Yet after all the misery, desolation, and ruin he brought upon his fellow creatures, only to raise himself to the imperial power, he was in quiet possession of it not above five months, when he was killed for his tyranny and usurpation. See *Vell. Patercul. B. ii. ch. 56.*

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shew vice (though dignified by great abilities, and blended with many shining qualities) in its own detestable colours, divested of that fictitious glare, which recommends it to the admiration of the vain and inconsiderate. And therefore such only as have just ideas of liberty, and understand wherein the true happiness of a nation consists, are rightly qualified to place the actions of kings in a just light, and, by their wise and judicious remarks, to improve our understanding, and direct our conduct [u].

[u] It is for want of such principles as these, that Voltaire, in his history of *Louis the Fourteenth* of France, calls it one of the four happy ages of the world, because plays and poetry, painting, sculpture and architecture, with an external civility and politeness, were encouraged and flourished. He also endeavours to represent him as a truly great king: and yet he acknowledges that he was a lover of the grossest flattery, fond of grandeur, pomp and ostentation, and an encourager of the greatest luxury, profuseness, and extravagance, all which sink and debase the human mind.—And *Keysser* (*Vol. I. p. 130*) tells us, that he was so infatuated by flattery, that at opera's, and the prologues of plays, he would join in singing the most extravagant rants made in his own praise.—Instead of considering himself as invested with sovereign power, only to be the father of his people, and to make them happy; he tyrannised over them with unbounded licentiousness, making his own will and pleasure the sole rule of his government, without any regard to their happiness, or to their natural rights and liberties. Instead of giving them the blessings of peace, which is the foundation of all happiness and felicity, he forced great numbers of them from their houses and families, and all that was dear to them, to enter into his armies: and thus depopulated his dominions and destroyed many myriads of his subjects in unjust wars against other nations, only to promote, what he called his own glory. He

GIVE

LETT. III. THE CESSARES. 33

GIVE me leave to conclude this letter with an account of some very remarkable and most ex-

broke through his most solemn treaties, employed his great wealth, and made use of every mean art, to set the neighbouring states at variance with each other, that he might the more effectually avail himself of any opportunity which should offer, to gratify his ambition, and enlarge his dominions. And to support his unrighteous wars, and his extravagant pleasures, he raised immense taxes upon his people: for Voltaire assures us, that during his reign of 72 years, he spent, one year with another, no less than 330 millions of French livres of the present money; which, at ten pence farthing per livre, comes to above 14 millions of English pounds sterling: and amounts in 72 years to above 1014 millions of English pounds sterling. Moreover, he tormented thousands of his Protestant subjects in the most inhuman, cruel, and barbarous manner by his dragoons, and murdered or drove out of his dominions near half a million of them, because they would not implicitly subject their consciences to the tyranny of the papal power.—Now what idea can we form of such a king, but that of a bloody and oppressive tyrant, who was a curse to his own people, as well as to his neighbours, and who ought to be regarded with the greatest detestation and abhorrence? For shall that man be reckoned wicked and unjust, and be judged unworthy of life, who only robs another of a little money: and shall that king be called great, and be stiled a hero, who takes away immense sums from his own subjects, only to consume them upon his extravagant pleasures and unrighteous wars, who murders and destroys thousands of his own people; who unjustly seizes upon whole provinces belonging to his neighbours, and fills the earth with misery, slaughter, and desolation?—How different from Lewis the XIV, is the excellent character of Gustavus Ericson, a king of Sweden; who never attempted to extend his successful arms beyond the deliverance of his own country: who carefully studied how to make his power beneficial to his people, compassionating their necessities, redressing their grievances,

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cellent

cellent laws established by the first inca's or kings of Peru, of the truth of which some of our neighbouring Indians (who fled from thence when the Spaniards ravaged their country) have frequently assured us.

ALL the families of this empire were divided into tens, one of whom was appointed head over the other nine; and in every five divisions, one was made chief of the fifty; another of every hundred; another of every five hundred; and another of every thousand families: and in each province, he was made the chief, who was most able and willing to promote the public good. The head of every ten was obliged to give notice to his superior officer of any faults or irregularities committed by those who were under his inspection; and also to inform him of such as were in want, or had any accident or misfortune, that they might be immediately relieved. If any officer, either of high or low degree, was remiss in his duty, he was punished for it: and if he neglected to indict

rectifying their dispositions, and correcting their vices, with the indulgent hand of a tender parent! And though he softened their rough tempers into humanity, by the innocent pleasures of life; he took care that they should not corrupt their manners, constantly restraining them from every abuse and excess, by the example of an irreproachable virtue in his own conduct. See *Raymond's History of Gustavus Ericson*, p. 345, 346, and 398 to the End.

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LETT. III. THE CESSARES. 35

an offender without producing a lawful excuse, he was not only liable to answer for his own default, but also to receive the punishment, which was due to the offender. And as every one of the lower officers had a superintendant over him, they were all diligent in discharging their several duties, by which means idleness, fraud, oppression, and every kind of vice was discouraged; and every one who suffered through losses was relieved. To prevent tedious and expensive law suits, every cause was tried and determined in five days, except in difficult and obscure cases. If any one of the superior officers was guilty of a crime, his punishment was greater than another's; it being an established maxim with them, that no crime was to be tolerated in magistrates, whose duty and business it was to set good examples, and to root out vice in others. And hence it came to pass, that in all that great empire, consisting of many nations and languages, and extending itself at last about 1300 leagues in length, and 100 in breadth, they had sometimes hardly one person executed in the space of a whole year.

THEY had such a veneration for the supreme God, that they never mentioned his name, but with the greatest reverence. They were taught to speak the truth justly and religiously; and if any one gave a false testimony in any affair of

importance, he was punished with death. Every one had such a portion of land given him, as was sufficient to support himself and family: and such as were blind, old, or incapable of work, were maintained by the public: the lands also belonging to widows and orphans, and to such as were sick, &c. were tilled, sowed, and reaped by the joint labour of the inhabitants of that district. Yet none were allowed to be idle or exempt from labour; even the lame and infirm were not intirely excused; and children of five years of age were employed according to their strength and capacities, and were brought up to be obedient, modest and of an obliging behaviour; for not only their parents, but the heads of every ten, were answerable for their ill manners or bad conduct.

THEY were not allowed to change their habits or fashions, so that they wondered to see the Spaniards so often change theirs, and justly attributed it to pride and wantonness of humour. All profusion in banquets, and delicacies of diet was prohibited among them. They had a law in force among them, which they called the law of brotherhood: it obliged them to assist one another in plowing, sowing and reaping the land, and in building of houses, without any pay or reward. In short, most of their laws and customs were dictated by the rules of right reason and equity, and by the principles
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LETT. III. THE CESSARES. 37

of goodness and benevolence. The sons of the Inca, and of all the chief men were brought up and enured to labour, were carefully formed to habits of piety and clemency, were taught to be impartial in administering justice, and to practise righteousness and virtue [*].

I am, &c.

[*] See this account confirmed in *De la Vega's Royal Commentaries of Peru*.

LETTER IV.

The laws relating to the governor. This office is made hereditary in the male issue of Mr. Alphen: but an unjust and tyrannical governor may be deposed. His authority limited; has the power of mitigating the punishment due to offenders: may appoint a deputy to assist him: and is obliged every new year to deliver a public speech, with a copy of that which was delivered last.

DEAR SIR,

Feb. 22, 1619.

I HAVE already told you, that Mr. Alphen was unanimously chosen our governor before we set out from our native country, to prevent any disputes which might otherwise have arisen among us on that head, upon our arrival at the destined place. And as elective kingdoms are subject to great tumults and disorders on the death of every king, before the nobles or people can agree in the choice of another, whereby the peace and happiness of the nation is greatly disturbed, and the kingdom often brought to the brink of destruction: we agreed that, in our state,

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state, the government should be hereditary for ever in the male issue of Mr. Alphen : and that on his decease, his eldest son should succeed him : or if his eldest son should be then dead, and had left any male issue, that then the eldest of them should succeed his grand-father.

It is difficult exactly to determine how a nation should treat a wicked governor : but as the happiness of the people, and the security of their rights and liberties, are the sole foundation and end of all government ; it is certainly lawful for subjects to deprive him of his authority, when he uses his power in a manner which is plainly destructive to the public good, and becomes manifestly unjust, oppressive, and tyrannical. If therefore any of our governors should endeavour to become arbitrary and to enslave us ; a majority of the citizens are allowed to present a petition to the senators, by which they are empowered and obliged to bring the governor to a public trial, to answer to the charges which are brought against him ; and, if he is found guilty, to deprive him of his power, and then his next heir is immediately to assume his office.

THE governor has no power to make any new law, or to abolish any old one ; to lay any tax upon the people, or employ any one in any

public service, without the concurrence of the senators. But his power consists in putting in execution those laws which are already made, in obliging all persons to conform to them, and in punishing those who violate them, in the manner which the laws direct.

As no good government can delight to punish offenders, meerly for the sake of punishing; and as a person may fall under the sentence of the law, who from the nature of the circumstances attending the commission of the offence, might justly claim a mitigation of the punishment, which would otherwise be due to such a crime: the governor has the power of reprieving any offender, or of lessening his punishment, agreeable to the rules hereafter laid down for that purpose.

THE governor may appoint any one of the senators to be his deputy, and to act for him, in case of sickness or any other just cause: whose assent is equally valid with that of the governor himself, in making of new laws, and in every thing else, to which the governor's authority extends. And the governor may change his deputy, when and as often as he pleases.

IF at any time the next heir be under age, the governor is to appoint in his last will, one of the senators to be the deputy; who, in case of
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LETT. IV. THE CESSARES. 41

the governor's death, is to assume the same power, till the heir apparent attains to the age of twenty one years. But if there happens to be no deputy governor appointed, then as soon as the governor is dead, the senators are immediately to assemble, and chuse one of their own body into that office, till the heir is of age.

THE governor is obliged to deliver a speech before the whole assembly at our quarterly meeting, at the beginning of every year. The design of which is to set forth the excellency of our constitution, to remind the magistrates and people of their several duties, and to point out the happy effects which must necessarily result to the community, from unanimity and a steady obedience to the laws. That which Mr. Alphen delivered to us the last new year, was as follows.

“ My countrymen,

WHEN we first determined to settle this colony, we endeavoured to establish it on the best of principles, liberty and the common good. To this end we took the most effectual methods in our power, to prevent tyranny and oppression, anarchy and confusion, by a wise, equitable and well balanced form of government. And to promote the happiness of every one, and encourage a simple, plain and industri-

ous life, we assigned an equal portion of land to every householder.

SINCE then you now experience, and gratefully acknowlege the great blessings and advantages which have sprung from these regulations, let me intreat you to preserve your present happy constitution, to revere and obey its laws, which equally guard against the wretchedness and miseries of poverty, and the pride and insolence of riches. May neither the lust of power and dominion, the sordid love of wealth, the parade of grandeur, or the softness and effeminacy of luxury, be ever known among you: but may righteousness, goodness, industry and temperance adorn your lives and manners.

I, THE governor of this land do publicly acknowlege, that I am not advanced to this station to acquire riches, to revel in pleasure, or to gratify any pride or ambition of my own; but to promote the public welfare of the state. And therefore I will endeavour, with the assistance of God, to discharge the trust reposed in me, by executing the laws with impartial justice and equity, and by endeavouring to make you happy, by as wise and prudent an administration, as lies in my power.

BUT

BUT as my endeavours alone can be but of little force and efficacy, unless you also in your several stations concur with me, I must intreat you who are the senators to assist me, by enacting wise and good laws, and by promoting a due obedience to them, without which the best system of laws, and form of government will be of no use.

LET me also call upon you, who are the Guardians of this state, the inspectors into the public lives and manners of the people, to consider the important trust which is committed to you. You are to watch over the whole community, to take notice of the first beginnings of vice and every irregularity, and to take care that the virtue and innocence of the nation be not corrupted. Remember that vice always creeps in by imperceptible degrees, and that if it's progress be not timely stoped, it will taint the principles and manners of a people to such a degree, as to render them licentious, and impatient of the restraint of wise and wholesome laws, which at last will end in the ruin of the state.

MAY every magistrate behave with wisdom, moderation, and goodness; guard against all pride, imperiousness, the love of power and precedence; and chearfully obey those laws which he enjoins

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enjoins others: May every one of us be careful to keep his own passions and desires under a proper regulation and government, without which we shall be very unfit to govern others: and avoiding all strife and contentions among ourselves, let it be our only study and emulation, who shall promote, in the most effectual manner, the good and welfare of the nation.

PERMIT me also to recommend it to you, who are the ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ, to instruct your congregations in the great and substantial duties of the Christian religion, and to animate them to a constant and steady practice of all the private and social virtues. Inculcate upon them the greatest reverence and veneration of the Divine Being, which is the only solid foundation of every moral excellency, and of every worthy disposition. And take care that your own lives, your behaviour and conversation be truly worthy of your sacred character, wise and regular, sober and unblameable, that you may edify the people under your care by your good examples as well as by your instructions: and let the constant and uniform tenor of your conduct shew, that you truly believe what you preach and recommend to others.

I MUST also intreat you who are the masters of families, to bring up your children to be tractable

LETT. IV. THE CESSARES. 45

tractable and orderly, to behave with modesty, civility, and courteousness : and to enure them at home to such labour and industry as their ages will admit of, that they may not acquire a habit of sloth and idleness. Guard against a false love and foolish fondness on one hand, as well as too great severity on the other. Remember that if bad dispositions be not checked at their first rise, or subdued in the earliest parts of life ; it will be found a work of great difficulty to root them out afterwards : and that the impressions which you give them early, and the habits which they then acquire, will greatly influence their future conduct. Teach them to be ashamed of every mean and base action, inspire them with a generous and ardent desire to do whatever is excellent and praise-worthy : and shew them that the right government of their appetites and passions, and the practice of piety, virtue, humanity and benevolence, are the noblest employments of their rational and moral powers, and the true source of happiness both here and hereafter.

LASTLY, let us all remember, that the strength and welfare of every state, depend upon the harmony and union, the goodness and virtue of the individuals. May every one of us therefore seek after those things which are
pure,

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pure, honest, just and amiable; may we cultivate peace and friendship with one another, and unite together as brethren for the common good; and then, with the blessing of God, we shall always be a happy and a flourishing people”.

I am, &c.

LET.

L E T T E R V.

Every parish is a square of four miles on each side, and every twenty five parishes make a county. The choice of senators by the citizens: every senator must be above forty years of age, their times of meeting, &c. They are chosen for life, but may be expelled the senate for bad conduct. Every citizen must be a married man, a protestant, and not less than twenty-one years of age. No papist is allowed any share in the government, and why. Inspectors are chosen by the householders to watch the public manners and conduct of the people: must be citizens, and at least thirty years of age: their duty and power, &c. Rules observed in the trials of civil and criminal causes: they are tryed by a jury. No tortures nor cruel punishments allowed of: but such chiefly as tend to the good of the state, and the reformation of the offender. Under what restrictions the governor is permitted to mitigate the punishment due to offenders.

DEAR SIR,

Nov. 15, 1619.

THE senate has divided the land into parishes, each of them being a square of four miles on every side [y]: and twenty

[y] In the original, it is one mile: now a Dutch or Rhineland mile is not quite three English miles and a half.

five

five parishes, or a square of twenty miles every way, makes a county; in the middle of which the county town is to be built.

DURING the first century, the citizens in every parish chuse one senator, but after the expiration of that time, as our numbers will be greatly increased, two or more parishes are to join together in the choice of one senator, as the senate then in being shall determine. Every town also, which has above one hundred citizens dwelling in it, is to elect a senator. The choice is made by a majority of the citizens, dwelling in that town or parish: but no one can vote for two different places, nor can those who vote for a town, give their votes for the parish.

THERE shall not be at one and the same time, more than three senators, of any one family, so nearly related as first cousins, during the space of one hundred years from the commencement of the state: lest any family should acquire too great an influence in the national council.

No one is capable of being chosen a senator, who is not a citizen, and above forty years of age: that he may be a person of some knowlege and experience, and that we may not fall under the power and direction of rash and unexperienced young men.

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THE senate meets at the chief town, on the first Monday in January, April, July and October, and sits as many days as they please, not exceeding thirteen, lest we should degenerate into an aristocracy. The governor may also assemble the senators at any other time, upon giving them timely notice before-hand. And whenever a governor dies, they are to meet together as soon as possible to proclaim the new one.

THE senate consists of the governor and the senators. The governor is always allowed two votes, and every senator only one; but if the votes should be equal, he is further allowed the casting vote. But no law or determination of the senate is of any force, unless the governor (or his deputy) together with a majority of the whole number of senators are actually present.

EVERY person once chosen a senator, continues so for life, or as long as he continues to be a citizen: but if he should become incapacitated for this station by old age, &c. or if his conduct should prove dissolute, oppressive, and unjust, then the senate can deprive him of this office, and order the town or parish which elected him, to chuse another in his stead. But to prevent any injustice in the two last cases, he may present a petition to the governor, to appeal to the

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citizens

citizens of the place, for which he is a representative: and then the governor (or his deputy) is to assemble the citizens of that place, and take their votes, whose determination is final. And further the more effectually to prevent all tyranny, oppression, and ill behaviour in any of the senators; the major part of the citizens in the town or parish, which chose him, may at any time present a complaint to the governor against him, and then the senate is publickly to try him, and determine whether there is sufficient reason to deprive him of his dignity or not.

No one can be made a citizen, till he is 21 years of age: he must also be a protestant, and to encourage marriage, he must be either a married man or a widower. And to discourage all manner of vice and ill manners, he must also first bring sufficient proof to the senate, on the testimony of several citizens, that he is sober, industrious and peaceable. If the evidence is satisfactory, he is then permitted to subscribe the laws of the land, and from thence forward is entitled to all the privileges of a citizen.

THE senate has power to deprive any one of his citizenship, either for life or for any number of years, for great and flagrant crimes. And as every one's conduct is in a great measure influenced by his religious principles, we have
excluded

excluded all papists from having any share in the administration; for the nature, genius and tendency of their religion is such, that it sanctifies all manner of oppression and cruelty to protestants, and therefore must naturally prove destructive to every protestant state, whenever it is in the power of the papists to overturn it; as universal history and experience shew. If therefore any of that sect should ever arise among us, a toleration is fully sufficient for them, without allowing them to enjoy any public office. And if either the governor, any of the senators, inspectors or other magistrates should embrace the popish religion, he immediately forfeits his citizenship, and consequently his public post and station, whatever it be [z].

THOUGH it is impossible to keep every one within the due bounds of order and decency: yet it is of the greatest importance to the well being of every state to prevent disorders as much as possible, rather than to punish them when committed. We have therefore decreed, that persons should be chosen to inspect into the

[z] So in England we allow no Papist to enjoy any public office.—What numbers of Papists there are in England, we may easily judge by this, that there were reckoned to be 100,000 of them in London and Westminster, in 1745: since which time they are much increased, if reports are to be relied on. See *Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 304.

public manners and conduct of all the people, none excepted. These we call inspectors: they are obliged to inform against all offenders, that they may be brought to justice, and no crime escape it's proper punishment. They are also empowered to hear and reconcile any little civil disputes and differences: but any one may appeal from their judgement to the higher courts. Neither have they any power to try criminal causes, or to punish an offender: and if an inspector behaves ill or oppresses any one, the person injured may freely complain to the senate, who shall reprove or punish the inspector, according to the nature of the offence, and give full satisfaction to the injured.

EVERY inspector must be a citizen of a good reputation and character, and at least thirty years of age, and is to continue in this office for three years. In the country, the householders of every parish chuse six inspectors; but in the towns, their number is settled by the senate in proportion to the number of the inhabitants. One third part of them is chosen every year, and consequently as many go out of the office every year: thus the new ones are joined with such as have already had some experience in the office, are acquainted with it's duties, and have acquired a knowlege of the characters of the people whose conduct they are to inspect. And
whoever

whoever has once discharged this office well for three years, is freed from any obligation of serving it a second time, unless it is his own choice.

EVERY inspector must, at the four quarterly meetings at the chief town, give the senate an account of the state and behaviour of the people under his care, and whether the publick roads, bridges &c. are in good condition. The senate at the same time examines into their conduct, that so none may be injured by them. And at the expiration of their office, the senate publicly approves such as have discharged their duty well, and punishes those who have been remiss and negligent, or tyrannical and oppressive. Thus though the inspectors are such only as the people themselves make choice of; yet since they are answerable for their conduct to the senate, they are obliged to be diligent and faithful in their office: and while we give them power to preserve the virtue of the nation, and to prevent vice from springing up among us; we carefully guard against their using it to the hurt or injury of any one.

To make the office of inspector the more honourable, no one (since the land has been inhabited ten years) can be chosen a senator, who has not served the office of an inspector for three

years, and obtained the approbation of the senate.

I SHALL conclude this letter with some account of the regulations which relate to our trials and punishments.

ALL trials and law suits are public, and without any charge or expence: and every law is to be understood in its plain, natural, and obvious meaning. Every one may plead his own cause himself, or by a friend; but it must be done with plainness and sincerity; and whoever does it with artful evasions, and with a manifest design to deceive, is punishable for it: but no one is allowed to plead another's cause for money or reward of any kind, lest he should thereby be tempted to pervert justice, and conceal or disguise the truth. We also disallow of all nice and trifling disputes about words, and that eloquence which is often used to screen malefactors from their due punishment, and to palliate falsehood: on the contrary we use the utmost diligence to find out the truth stripped of all disguise and borrowed ornaments, and determine causes with all the equity and dispatch that is in our power [a].

[a] How happy would it be for thousands, if these laws of the Cæsars were universally adopted: for in some countries,

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THE governor, or a senator appointed by him, presides at every trial: and eighteen persons are annually chosen out of every county by the senate, to be the jurymen to try the civil and criminal causes in that county for one year. They must be citizens and above forty years of age, capable of judging in all these affairs, and of uncorrupted honesty and integrity. The names of the whole eighteen are written on so many different papers, then folded up and put into a box, and then nine of them are publicly drawn by a little child; these are to try the cause,

the expences attending a law suit through the several courts of judicature, especially in the chancery, are so enormous, and the causes are protracted for so many years, that many families are ruined by it: nay, one would think that law was designed there only to enrich the lawyers, and without any view of administering cheap, speedy, and impartial justice. — The king of Prussia has made a great reformation of such abuses in his country; and it were greatly to be wished that every king would follow so good an example. — At Naples, there is a weekly meeting of the heads of a society, consisting of two hundred gentlemen of the law, to examine the private grievances of the poor: and if any such is found to be oppressed, and his complaint to be well founded, a member of this society is nominated to undertake his cause; the expences of which are defrayed by the Theatine Convent, which has large endowments for this purpose. This is an institution, which must give pleasure to every humane and benevolent person. *See Keyser's travels, vol. ii. p. 383.*

and the verdict of the major part of them determines the case. But if it should happen that any of the jury should have an intimate and close connexion either by ties of blood or otherwise; or has conceived any enmity against either of the parties concerned: upon their being objected to, the president is to forbid his name being put into the box. And further, if any one thinks himself injured by the verdict of the jury, he may petition the governor for another trial by the senate; provided twenty citizens sign his petition, to shew that the appeal is not without just cause.

As the end of every good government is to promote the good of every individual, so far as is consistent with the good of the whole; every kind of punishment that is not calculated to answer this end, is barbarous and cruel: therefore racks and tortures of any sort to force confession are absolutely forbidden to be used among us, especially as confessions made by the force of them are well known to be no certain proof of guilt. So far also as the authority of the laws can be supported, and persons be deterred from the commission of the like offences, the reformation of the offender is always consulted by us. He must also make full reparation to the person
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he has injured [*b*]: and his punishment is such, as is of use and advantage to the state, such as fines for the public use, or the employing him in some difficult, laborious and necessary work [*c*]. The particular punishment of every

[*b*] This is a just and equitable manner of proceeding; whereas in some countries, the injured person has in many cases no reparation made him, but must be contented with the punishment of the offender only, and even that is sometimes attended with a considerable expence. And in some cases the fines go to the king or sheriffs, &c. instead of giving any recompence first to the injured person. A most strange method of executing justice!—Neither is the reformation of the offenders consulted, but, instead of their being confined each in a separate cell, fed only with bread and water, and obliged to hard labour, that they might acquire the habits of sobriety and industry, they are generally permitted to be idle and slothful, and to drink as much strong liquors as they can pay for: and the least offenders are often confined in one common room with the greatest and most hardened criminals; by which methods those who would otherwise be reformed, generally come out of prison worse, than when they first went in. They are also absurdly removed from one part of the British territories to another; for what advantage can the state gain by transporting a felon from England or Scotland to the plantations in America. It is only inflicting one part for the ease of another.

[*c*] This reminds me of a method used by the monks of the convent at Mount Sinai in Arabia. This mountain is very steep, and the steps are bad, and whenever a monk has committed any fault, he is obliged to mend some of the steps of the rock, according to the nature and degree of his offence. So also the culture of the lands round the convent of Bel-crime

crime is not always expressed in our laws, because it is very difficult to proportion them to every species of offence; nay there ought to be a great distinction made in the punishment inflicted on the same crimes, in different cases and circumstances: for such offenders as are obstinate and hardened ought to be punished with more severity, than those who are guilty through indiscretion and inadvertence: and a cool deliberate resolution to do evil, attended with an artful evasion to keep out of the reach of the laws, far exceeds the enormity of many crimes which are committed in the heat of passion, as they shew the heart to be more thoroughly corrupted. Therefore such offenders as seem to have a due sense of their crimes, and promise amendment, and can procure several citizens to sign their petition, and to be in some measure sureties for their future good behaviour, are allowed to present a petition to the governor, to desire a mitigation of their punishment, who in such cases has a full power to grant it, if he thinks it proper so to do. But no pardon is ever to be granted, without making some attonement for the crime; for lenity and compassion should always be regulated

ment near Tripoli in Asia, is the penance for any misbehaviour in the monks. See *Van Egmont and Heyman's travels*, Vol. ii. p. 164 and 291.

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by justice and equity; and no nation can be happy, unless the wicked be restrained: nay, in some cases it is even necessary for the public good and safety, that they should be intirely cut off.

I am, &c.

LET.

L E T T E R VI.

The ministers of every parish how chosen: No subscriptions to any human articles of faith required of them: No persecution for religious opinions permitted: A pastor or bishop of a church must be above thirty years of age, and ought to be a married man: Great care taken that they are of good and unblemished characters: Their salaries how raised, as no tithes are allowed of here. marriages and divorces. No one is allowed more than one share of land, from thirty-five to fifty acres, according to the goodness of the ground. Of widows and orphans. A law relating to the settlement of foreign protestants. Useful mines of coals, iron, &c. belong to the public. Some land is set apart in every parish, and is cultivated by the parishioners to defray the public expences. Of the education of children, and of public schools. Of the militia.

DEAR SIR,

Nov. 29, 1619.

IT will now be proper to say something of our religious establishment, which shall be the subject of the first part of this letter.

SINCE

SINCE we are dependent beings, receive our existence from God, and are indebted to him for every degree of happiness which we here enjoy, and can hope for hereafter: it is our indispensable duty to worship and adore him, to seek his favour, and to learn and obey his laws. We have therefore built a church in the middle of every inhabited parish, and also a house near it, for the minister who officiates there, and who is chosen by the major part of the protestant members of that parish, who are above twenty-one years of age.

THE bible is our only rule of faith, and therefore no subscription to any human articles of faith, made by any nation, council or synod whatever, is required of any minister. He is only obliged to make a public declaration of his belief in God, and in Jesus Christ, and to promise that he will sincerely endeavour to conform his public preaching, and his life and practice, to the doctrines and precepts of our blessed Lord and Saviour as revealed to us in the New Testament.

No persecution is allowed of for religious opinions; and if any one reproaches another merely on account of his religious sentiments, he is punishable for it. If any Protestants
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should dissent from the form of religious worship established among us, they have full liberty to chuse and maintain their own ministers, and to assemble themselves either in our churches at different hours, or to build new ones for themselves.

No one can be elected a pastor of a church till he is above thirty years of age, that he may have gained some knowledge and experience, though he may be chosen an assistant sooner. An assistant is chosen by the pastor, but must be approved by a majority of the members of the church, who are above twenty-one years old. No minister can have any civil or military employment. And every pastor or bishop of a church should also be a married man, according to the apostle's injunctions (*d*).

As every one naturally expects a great degree of purity, virtue, and sobriety from those, who take upon them to be the instructors of others; so it is of the greatest importance to religion, that ministers should be of good and unblemished characters, and live agreeably to their own exhortations; for otherwise their precepts (though ever so good) can have little or no influence upon others. Therefore the inspectors

[*d*] *A bishop must be the husband of one wife. See 1 Timothy iii. 2.*

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are enjoined to enquire into the moral character and behaviour of all the ministers of the established church, and of those who dissent from it. And where any are found faulty, they are to reprove them in private; but if that reproof should not produce the desired effect, they are then to lay the case before the senate; that thereby pride and imperiousness, hypocrisy, vice, and irreligion, may be repressed or punished, and not be sheltered under the cloak of religion. And every minister who behaves ill, may be deprived of his office by a majority of the electors. But every one who behaves well, is treated with great respect, and held in high esteem among us, and is maintained out of the public stock; for no tithes are paid, nor are any revenues permitted to be given, to any church. And if such worthy ministers become aged, infirm, and incapacitated for their duty, they are nevertheless still maintained by the public, as long as they live.

With regard to marriages: the parties must appear publickly at the town-house with some of their relations and friends, before the governor, or a senator appointed by him; and there declare their desire to take one another for husband and wife, and then sign their names in a proper book kept for that purpose, and from that time they become man and wife. But no marriage is permitted, till the magistrate is fully

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fatisfied that it is with the free consent of both the parties, and that neither of them are forced to it by their parents or guardians, as their future happiness must greatly depend upon their mutual love and esteem. And if either of them is under twenty-one years of age, they cannot be married without the consent of the parents or guardians. And when there is so great a difference of age between the two parties as twenty-five years, our laws will not admit of such an union, because the sentiments, taste, dispositions and tempers of youth and age are so widely different, that there can be no foundation for happiness.

No marriage settlement is allowed to be made upon a wife or any child, because every widow and orphan is provided for, by the laws of our land. And to prevent all domestic contentions, no wife has any property of her own, separate and distinct from her husband, but he is entitled to whatever money, goods or inheritance falls to her possession. But if a wife has any just reason to complain of her husband, or any child of it's parent or guardian, the senate is then empowered to redress their grievances, and to settle affairs as circumstances require.

THE senate has power also to grant a divorce, with liberty to marry another, upon a just and substantial

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substantial reasons being produced, such as adultery, or of five years absence from home, without being heard of during that space of time, &c.

I COME next to the laws which relate to our estates.

I HAVE already observed that one great design in establishing this colony, was to give every man a sufficient quantity of land for the maintenance of himself and family, but not to allow him to engross more: and therefore our laws strictly forbid any one to possess in his own right more than one share. Only the governor, the senators, and such other persons, who by their public office are obliged frequently to absent from their own estates, and to reside elsewhere, are further allowed a small spot of ground for a house and garden in the town where their public business lies; and which each of them enjoys so long only, as he continues in that office, and then it goes to his successor.

EVERY parish (which consists of four miles square) is divided into sixteen divisions, of a mile square. Every division is again divided into shares. A share contains about thirty-five English acres, if it is good ground, but never exceeds fifty acres, be the soil ever so indifferent.

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EVERY

EVERY married man is entitled to a share, but no person who has not been married, can have more than half a one. Any married person may succeed to another share left to him by another person, or which descends to him by inheritance: but in these and all other cases, he must, within the space of one year, surrender up his own share to the senate, or give it to some other person (whomsoever he pleases) who is lawfully qualified to receive it. Every share is numbered, and as soon as the senate has registered the owner's name in a book kept for that purpose, his title to it can never be disputed: so that estates are firmly secured to every person in this country.

EVERY one may chuse his share where-ever he pleases, with the consent of the senate: and when he dies, his widow possesses it as long as she lives, even though she should marry again, that marriage may not be discouraged: but she can have only one share, namely that of her first husband. And if he has left any child or children by her or by a former wife, she must maintain them, till they become qualified to receive estates elsewhere. And when she dies, the eldest son succeeds to the inheritance, but if he refuses to accept of it, it is offered to the second son, &c. But if a man dies without leaving any
issue,

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issue, he may by his last will dispose of his share, after the death of his wife, to any person he pleases who is lawfully qualified to possess it.

EVERY widow is entitled to her first husband's stock of corn, poultry, sheep, and cattle, and the necessary instruments for agriculture: also to half of his household goods and moveables: and the other half is equally divided among his children. But no widow, who has been married more than once, is allowed any part of the above-mentioned particulars, belonging to any of her other husbands, unless it is left her by any of their wills.

IF at any time a number of foreign protestants should be desirous of settling among us, they shall not be allowed to live all together in one place; but shall be dispersed in different parishes and divisions, that they may be the sooner incorporated with us, and not continue a separate and distinct people.

ALL mines of coal, of iron, or any other useful mineral &c. also all medicinal waters, and whatever else is of public use and benefit, though they should be discovered in any person's share, belong to the public, for the use of every person, according to the rules established by the senate for that purpose. But a full satisfaction is given

to every one, on whose estate they are found. But no gold or silver mines (if any such should ever be discovered) are allowed to be worked, lest they should excite some nation to invade us.

THE senate has also a power to lay a yearly tax on every one's estate, payable in corn, cattle &c. to defray the expences of the public. But they have thought it more eligible at present, to set apart a quantity of land in every parish for public uses, which is cultivated by the joint labour of the inhabitants of each parish.

I now come to an affair which is of the greatest importance to the public welfare, I mean the education of children. This is a subject which has been discuss'd by many learned men, both ancient and modern. It has been frequently observed, that when the education of children is intrusted to their parents only, instead of instilling just and good principles into their tender minds, they have, either through ignorance, or blind indulgence, rendered them untractable, stubborn, and conceited, or indolent and effeminate, lovers of ease and pleasure, and impatient of labour. And when these habits have taken deep root, in early life, experience shews how very difficult it is to eradicate them. And when these vices become the characteristics

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racharacteristics of a nation, one may easily prognosticate the approaching dissolution of that state. Therefore our laws enjoin the senate to build a public school in every parish, and to appoint proper masters and mistresses for them, whither all Parents and guardians are obliged to send their children at such ages, and for so long a time as the senate directs. These schools are put under the care, not only of the senate, but also of the inspectors, who are directed to have a constant eye upon them, and to see that the masters and mistresses do their duty with fidelity; that good order and discipline be carefully established, that their diversions as well as exercises be well regulated, and that an equal regard be had to their moral character and behaviour, as to their health, and proficiency in learning. Here they are instructed in the principles of religion and virtue, justice and goodness, temperance and moderation self government, modesty, a decent and obliging behaviour, with due respect and obedience to their superiors, and are early accustomed to labour and industry [e]: for half the day is spent in learn-

[e] XENOPHON in his institution of Cyrus, has given us an account of the method of education used among the ancient Persians: by which they endeavoured not only to make them good and virtuous, but even to prevent their having the least inclination to do any thing that was base or dishonourable. They were educated in public schools under the tuition of such elders, as were thought to be the fittest for that purpose.

ing useful trades and employments, and the other half in reading, writing, and understanding accounts, with other branches of knowlege, fuitable to their genius and inclination, and to their age and sex.

WAR is certainly the greatest evil on the earth, and productive of the greatest distresses, misery, and ruin: yet the ambition and wickedness of men make it necessary, that a number of persons in every state should be qualified to oppose the enemies of their country, and to be the bulwark of liberty and property against the encroachments of rapacious invaders [f]. Therefore every

They employed their time in learning the principles of justice and equity, were taught to be temperate and sober, to be obedient to the magistrates, to hate all animosities and disputes, and especially ingratitude: they were also instructed in the use of the bow, and exercised in shooting.

[f] WARS which are occasioned by pride, ambition, and a thirst after conquest or false glory, make a shining figure in history: the writer records with pleasure, and his readers too often peruse with admiration, those scenes of blood and cruelty, which depopulate countries, and make great numbers miserable nay, which even distress the subjects of the conqueror, by the great taxes levied upon them to defray the expences, and by the loss of the lives of thousands of his own people, to raise his fame. But sober reason is sensible of the miseries which spring from an ambitious king and lover of war, and looks upon the sufferings of his people, as a punishment inflicted upon them by God for their sins, when he gives them an heroic Prince. Yet such a one considers his victories and conquests as great and illustrious actions, meerly from an igno-
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LETT. VI. THE CESSARES. 71

male from eighteen to sixteen years of age (except those who are lame, blind and in infirm) is enrolled among the militia, and trained up to the use of arms: they are frequently exercised in every parish, and four times in a year they all exercise together at the chief town, where they also shoot at marks, and rewards are publicly bestowed upon those, who shew the greatest dexterity and skill.

THE governor has the supreme command, or can appoint another person to act for him. He also chuses the officers, fixes the times of their

rance of what is truly great and excellent, those peaceful virtues of a king which dispense happiness to all his subjects, secure to them the quiet enjoyment of all their possessions, and make him the friend and father of his country. *See Raymond's history of Gustavus Ericson, p. 375, 376, 380 and 381.* — In how amiable a light does the little state of Geneva appear? A republic founded in wisdom and virtue: where we meet with no ambitious man making thousands wretched, and augmenting the miseries of life: no legions of armed men, ravaging the world, and with the thunders of war disturbing the peace of mankind. But a people happy and free, who have defended themselves with bravery, against the various encroachments of tyrants and oppressors: a people who make temperance the guardian of their health; who endeavour by their laws to bar up every avenue to the blandishments of luxury; who carefully promote religion and virtue, infuse into all a tincture of learning, and form the character of a good citizen upon that of a good christian: who preserve the utmost harmony, and live together like one great family. *See Keate's Account of Geneva, 4, 5, 6, and 7.*

meeting together for exercise, summons them together in time of danger, and has full power to direct and order all their proceedings. We have also beacons erected in proper places, ready to be lighted at once on the approach of an enemy; that so the whole militia may immediately assemble.

THE senate has power to employ the militia to erect fortifications, and to do whatever else is judged to be necessary for the safety and security of the nation. And if at any time we should have an engagement with an enemy; the senate is afterwards carefully to examine into the conduct of the officers and soldiers, and reprove, punish or reward them according to their behaviour. And all plunder taken from the enemy, is to be brought into the public treasury, to be disposed of as the senate sees fit.

WE have as yet had no enemy to fight with, and consequently cannot say how we should behave in a time of battle: but if we may judge from appearances, it is very probable, that a body of men enured to labour, accustomed to discipline, and animated with the most ardent zeal for their families and liberties, would sell their lives very dear.

I am, &c.

L E T.

LETTER VII.

Every apprenticeship is dissolved at twenty-one Years of age. No cruelty to any animals permitted. None buried in churches. What crimes are punished with death. Of Debtors. Of Duels. Every head of a family answerable for the ill-behaviour of his dependents, and also every town or parish for the misconduct of those who live there. Of fish and game. Whoever injures another must make a proper satisfaction. No usury allowed of. Whoever unjustly injures another's character &c. is punishable for it. No immodesty, nor obscene books or pictures permitted. Of bad magistrates. Administration of Oaths. Of profane swearing or cursing. None can hold two civil or military offices; or two livings. The prices of food and labour fixed by the senate. Every person that is put into prison must work for the public good. Of the roads and carriages. Of slavery. Of stealing. Of sumptuary laws. Of gaming and plays. The office of the public Treasurer. Towns how to be built &c. Of trees and hedges on every one's estate. Every one gives his vote by ballot at all elections and trials. A stock of wheat is always kept for two or three years beforehand.

DEAR SIR,

Jan. 10, 1620.

I SHALL now give you some of our laws upon several subjects, which I could not well reduce

reduce to any of the former general heads. But I would first observe, that all fines are applied to the public use, except such as are otherwise directed : and though we keep a book in which all these public fines are entered ; yet at the death of every one, who has been thus punished for his offences, we blot his name out of the book, that it may be no longer publickly remembered, nor be a reproach to his children or relations.

WHEN any persons attain to the age of twenty-one years, their service or apprenticeship is dissolved.

THE same freedom extends also to every married person, though under that age, provided the marriage is with the consent of the master or mistress,

No cock-fighting nor horse-races, nor any thing that is contrary to the rules of humanity and decency of manners is allowed of among us, or that has the least tendency to render the mind cruel. And whoever treats his beast with cruelty or barbarity, forfeits that animal to the public, and is further fined according to the nature of the crime ; for to treat the creatures (which are in our power) with kindness ; and while we make them subservient to
our

our use, to be pleased with adding to their felicity; shews a truly good and divine temper [g].

[g] THERE is something very amiable in this compassion shewn to animals: whereas the English are remarkable for their ill treatment of many of them, particularly horses and cocks. They have an annual custom of throwing sticks at the cocks only for their diversion; while the poor innocent and domestic animal sends out his shrieks and mournful cries, as so many calls upon his tormentors for pity: till his toes being battered, his legs or wings broken, and his beak dropping blood, he sinks at last through pain and bitter anguish to the ground: a custom so cruel, as cannot be reflected upon by any humane person without horror. The fishermen also drive a wooden peg into the tender flesh of the claws of lobsters, while they are living, which must put them to exquisite pain. And in the fens of Lincolnshire, in the moors near Bridgewater in Somersetshire, and other places, they have a most barbarous practice of pulling out the quills, and plucking off the feathers of the live geese several times in a year. None of which cruelties would be practised, if we had a due sense of the principles of mercy and humanity; nor would any government permit them, that had a proper regard to the moral conduct of the people. See this subject well treated in *two Sermons on clemency to Brutes*, printed for Doddsley in 1761.—The Turks on the contrary will not suffer any animal to be injured or tormented, but severely punish all those who behave cruelly to them. They treat their horses in particular with much lenity and indulgence, and never beat them but in cases of necessity. This makes them great lovers of mankind, especially of their masters and grooms; and they are so far from being unruly or untractable by this gentle usage, that you shall scarcely find such a horse among them. See *Busbequius's Letters*, p. 163, 164 and 175.—I would further observe that the supreme court of judicature at Athens, thought cruelty to animals not below their cognizance, when they condemned a boy for putting out the eyes of Quails. See *Quintilian*, B. v. Ch. 9. The Athe-
WE

WE allow no one to be buried in any church or place of public worship, lest any infectious exhalations should arise from the putrid bodies, and be hurtful to the congregation [*b*]: but proper burial places are laid out in the form of a square round every church, planted with aromatic shrubs and flowers in a beautiful and agreeable manner, and the graves are placed in streight and regular rows. And every one must be buried so early, that the persons who attend, may have time to return home before sun set.

WHOEVER shall endeavour to destroy the liberties of the people, and the constitution of the state; or shall discover to our enemies, the passages which lead to our country, shall be put to death as a traitor, even though he were the governor himself. Murder and adultery also are punished with death: unless it should appear in the last case, that the guilty party was drawn into the commission of that crime by the

nians also expelled a member of the Areopagus, for treating a bird inhospitably, that took shelter in his bosom from a hawk.

[*b*] I AM much pleased with the following epitaph at Louvain.—“Philip Verkeyen doctor and professor of physic ordered his mortal part to be buried here in the church-yard: that he might not pollute the church, and infect it with noxious effluvia.” See *Keyser's Travels*, Vol. I. p. 270.

art

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art and contrivance of the husband and wife. And all attempts to commit any of these crimes shall be severely punished with a fine and imprisonment.

WHEN any one is unable to pay his debts, his creditors are to make an application to the proper inspectors, who are carefully to examine into the cause of such a failure, and report it to the senate. If the senate finds it to arise from losses, illness, or unavoidable misfortunes, his debts are to be discharged out of the public stock. But if he is found to be reduced by a criminal and faulty conduct, his goods are to be publickly sold to pay his debts; and he is further to be punished for his ill behaviour.

WHOEVER challenges another to fight a duel, and whoever accepts of such a challenge, is not only to be fined and imprisoned for one year, but also to be turned out of their citizenship, the first for seven years, and the other for three: and during the year of their imprisonment must stand exposed to public shame four times, for the space of one hour each time at our quarterly public meetings in the chief town [i].

[i] THIS, I suppose, is like our pillory in England, and would be a very proper and ignominious punishment for our duellists. —Du Pratz in his *History of Louisiana*, Vol. II. p. 165, tells us, that if any of the young people there happen to fight (which

But

But if any one kills another in a duel, he is accounted guilty of wilful murder, and is punished with death.

THE head or heads of every family are in some measure answerable for the faults and ill behaviour of every person in it, especially their children. And all the families in every town or parish are answerable for the faults or crimes of every person in it, unless they bring the offender to justice: that thereby it may be the care of every one to consult the good of the whole, and to permit no idle vagabond, nor publicly wicked or immoral person to live quietly among them. And whoever instigates or excites another to the commission of any crime, or is an accomplice with him, must suffer the same punishment with the offender.

ALL sorts of fish in the rivers, and all fowls, birds and animals which are wild, are free for every one to take and kill. But the senate has power to limit the seasons for fishing, hunting and shooting, and also the size of the fish, under which they ought not to be killed, that the game and fishery be not destroyed.

he adds he never saw or heard of during the whole time he resided in the neighbourhood of the marches, they threaten to put them in a hut at a great distance from their nation, as persons unworthy to live among others.

WHOEVER

WHOEVER hurts or injures another, either in his person, house, goods, &c. through folly or carelessness, is obliged to make him such a satisfaction and recompense as the jury or senate shall determine. But if it is done designedly, he must make a full satisfaction, and pay a fine also. And whoever mocks or affronts any one, merely on account of lameness, blindness, or any other natural infirmity, must make a proper acknowledgement to the injured person for his offence.

As we live upon our own small estates with very little trade; no one can receive any usury or interest from another for any money or goods lent to him: unless for good reasons, and with the consent of the senate.

WHOEVER wilfully spreads any lies or false reports of another, to injure his character and reputation, must publicly ask his pardon; and pay a fine both to the person injured, and also to the public. And if any one falsely asperses another's character, only for want of prudence and better consideration, he shall be punished as the jury or senate shall direct, that it may lead all persons to a habit of caution upon so very tender a point.

THE

THE more effectually to preserve innocence and modesty untainted, whoever talks or behaves indecently, and contrary to the rules of chastity and purity of manners, is punishable for it. And all immoral and obscene books, prints, pictures &c; are ordered to be burnt; and those that have them, to be fined, as encouragers of vice [*k*].

IF a senator, juryman, or inspector, or any other magistrate accepts of a bribe or present from any one, on account of a cause to be tried by him, he shall on conviction be deprived of his office and citizenship for ever, and be further fined or imprisoned according to the heinousness of his crime. For all bad magistrates are to be more exemplarily punished than others; as it is the very design and nature of their office to extirpate vice, and to be the guardians of innocence and virtue.

No oaths are administered among us, but on extraordinary occasions: and then they are

[*k*] THUS the Lacedæmonians caused the books of Archilochus, one of the greatest poets, to be banished from their city, because they thought them not modest or chaste enough to be read; lest the minds and manners of their children should be corrupted by them. See *Valerius Maximus*, B. VI. *ch.* 3.

given

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given in the most solemn manner [1]. And whoever is guilty of perjury, is not only fined and imprisoned, but is deprived of his citizenship for some years. But if it clearly appears from the concurrence of several circumstances, that he wilfully designed by his perjury to have taken away the life of another, his punishment is death.

WHOEVER swears or curses, or uses the name of God irreverently, pays a small fine for the first offence, which is to be doubled every time he is guilty of it.

No one can hold two civil, or two military offices, or be minister of two parishes; as he

[1] To every good man it must be a melancholy consideration, that so great a number of useless and unnecessary oaths should be required for most offices among us: especially as some of them (particularly that of the churchwardens) are almost impossible to be performed; by which many persons become perjured every year. And the loose, trifling and careless manner, in which they are too often administered, prevents and destroys the very design of them. They are also lately introduced at the elections for members of Parliament, where the electors are sometimes sworn that they have received no manner of bribe or reward for their votes, though it is well known, how much bribery and corruption prevail. But were there a sincere regard and concern for religion prevailing among us, most of these oaths would be abolished, since they are found by experience not sufficient to restrain wicked persons, and only tend to increase perjury in the nation.

G

cannot

cannot faithfully discharge the duties of both places at one and the same time.

THE senate has power to fix the price of corn and cattle, of bread, meat, labour and all other things, to prevent any unjust combinations.

EVERY person who is imprisoned for any offence, must be employed during that time, in such laborious works, as are of publick use and benefit. And every bad husband, wife or child, every idle and drunken person may be confined by the senate in a bettering house [m], and obliged to work.

ALL the public roads are about twenty-five yards broad, run straight and regular, have a causeway or foot path raised on one side, and at the end of every mile, have a stone erected, on which is inscribed the distance from one place to another. And none are permitted to encroach upon them by any sort of buildings, nor to plant any trees close to them without first having the consent of the senate. The senate has also fixed the breadth of waggons, carts, and all other carriages, and of their wheels, that the roads may be the better pre-

[m] THEY have in Holland houses of correction called by this name; in which dissolute, idle, and drunken persons are confined till they are reformed and made better.

served.

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served. And as the body of the carriage is low, and the distance between the two opposite wheels is ordered to be about seven feet, we seldom hear of any unhappy accident befalling them; for if a wheel or the axle tree breaks, the carriage only leans on one side, and seldom or never overturns.

SINCE we are all brethren, and God has given to all men a natural right to liberty, we allow of no slavery among us: unless a person forfeits his freedom by his crimes [o].

[o] It is surprizing that the English, who shew the greatest abhorrence of slavery, should act so contrary to so noble and generous a principle, and carry every year so many thousand negroes from their own country, their families, and every thing which is dear to them, and plunge them and their posterity into a state of perpetual and irretrievable bondage. They are chiefly transported to the West Indies, where too many of their English masters have but little religion, and less humanity. In some places, no day is exempted from labour, except Saturday afternoons and Sunday: and the negroes are obliged to work on the grounds which are allotted them for their own subsistence, which is chiefly yams. In other places where their provisions are given them, a pint of Indian corn, and a herring is all the food they are allowed during a hot and toilsome day, that their masters may be idle, rich and luxurious.—Surely sugar and tobacco &c. are not so absolutely necessary to our happiness, as to justify such inhuman and cruel proceedings!—The chief argument alledged in favour of this trade is, that these slaves are taken captive in war, and might perhaps otherwise be sacrificed to their Gods.—But in truth and

WHOEVER steals any thing from another, or cheats or over-reaches him, must make some

reality, it is the Europeans themselves, who are often the authors of the wars among the African negroes : and it is to purchase our brandy and other goods, that they not only waste and depopulate their neighbour's territories, but sometimes even their own country, to procure slaves for us. Thus *Moore*, in his travels into Africa, p. 65, 66, 87 and 91, tells us, that when the king of Barfally wants goods or brandy of the English, he ravages some of his neighbours towns, seizing the poor people, and selling them for such commodities as he wants. But if he is not at war with any of his neighbours ; he then falls upon one of his own towns, and uses his own subjects in the same manner.—Another argument made use of to justify the slave trade is, that the white people cannot work the sugars and tobacco ; and that therefore if we did not employ negroes, the French and Spaniards would engross all that trade. To which I answer, that if our colonies had no slaves at all, they would very probably soon find out some easier method of cultivating those plants. But if they could not do this, yet I cannot see, how any nation can be justified in doing what is contrary to all the laws of nature, goodness and humanity, only to get money and aggrandise themselves. If this may be done in any one article, what can prevent it from being extended to every thing else ? —The number of persons carried every year from Africa into slavery is exceeding great : for the learned author of *the importance of the African expedition to the River Senegal* assures us, that in the year 1725, the Portuguese alone carried away one hundred thousand slaves, and the other Europeans as many.—And though it is the interest of the planters to treat them with humanity, and to make their slavery easy to them, that they may be the better able to endure labour, and live the longer : yet *Hughes*, in his *History of Barbadoes*, p. 14, says, that their hard labour, and often the want of necessaries destroy a number of them.

restitution

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restitution to the person, and pay a fine to the public. If the thief or cheat cannot be found, then the town or parish must make such a satisfaction to the person for his loss, as the judges or senate shall determine.

THE senate is enjoined to establish sumptuary laws, and carefully to guard against the first introduction of all sorts of luxury : and to prohibit all those arts and trades, which minister only to idleness and pride, and the unnecessary refinements and embellishments of life, which are the certain fore-runners of the ruin of every state. And though it is very commendable to be neat and cleanly in our apparel, yet nothing is more contrary to a wise and rational conduct, than to lay out too much thought and expence upon it ; and a frequent change of fashions shews a vain and trifling mind. The senate have therefore regulated every one's dress according to their age and sex : it is plain, decent and becoming, but no diamonds or jewels, no gold or silver lace, or other finery are allowed of, lest pride and vanity, the love of shew and pomp should steal in among us by imperceptible degrees. Only fools and ideots are obliged to wear some gold, silver, or fine laces, to distinguish them from those of better sense. An effeminate fop or beau (being a disgrace to men) is to be fined and employed in the

bettering house in some dirty and laborious public works: and the more effectually to curb the desires of the female sex, and keep them in due bounds in these particulars; it is decreed, that if they dress above their rank, or contrary to the laws, they shall not only be fined for it, but shall be obliged to appear abroad for one year afterwards, in a dress below their station, as a just punishment for their vanity and love of ostentation [p].

WE also forbid cards, dice and all games of chance, under the penalty of fines and imprison-

[p] THUS at Geneva, a chamber of reform, which meets once a week, is instituted to prevent (if possible) the introduction and increase of luxury. This regulates the dress of both men and women, and forbids them to have any fine tapestry, paintings or looking glasses above a certain value. See *Keate's Account of Geneva*, p. 158, &c.—Our lives and manners are in some measure influenced by our dress, and therefore, as *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, B. VII. tells us, when Aristodemus the tyrant of Cumæ wanted to corrupt and enervate the young men there, he commanded them to let their hair grow in the fashion of the young women, to wear flowers and curls, and to tie up their curls in little bags of network; to dress themselves in embroider'd coats reaching down to their ankles, to cover themselves with soft cloaks, and to live in the shade: they were also taught to dance, and to play on the flute and other kinds of musick, being attended to these schools by women servants with umbrellas and fans.—Being educated thus till they were twenty years of age, how soft and effeminate must they become, unfit for any thing that is excellent and valuable, and shamefully attached only to foppery, dress and trifles?

ment

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ment in a bettering house. Nor are plays, interludes or theatrical entertainments allowed of, among us, nor any public places of expence and pleasure, lest they should hurt our morals or effeminate our minds; encourage indolence, and seduce the industrious from their necessary business and employments, which would soon render labour and diligence disagreeable and irksome, and consequently prove the ruin of our state [q].

THE governor appoints a treasurer to receive the public fines and taxes, and to take care of the public money, stock of wheat, &c. The senate fixes the salaries allowed the governor, the ministers, public school-masters, and who-

[q] THE prohibiting public plays &c. among the Cessares, seems to be very just and right, in such a state as theirs is. For though the theatre (if well regulated) might be made a powerful instrument to inspire public virtue, and the most noble and exalted sentiments: yet experience shews us, how it degenerates into trifling and ludicrous entertainments, and too frequently excites vicious ideas. Besides which, dress, action and elocution are too apt to inflame the passions, instead of bringing them under the wise and regular government of calm and sober reason. It also greatly tends to seduce people from their business, and to make labour and industry disagreeable to them. For these reasons the people of Geneva will not suffer a theatre to be erected in their territories. And *Rollin, in his ancient history, Vol. V. B. 10.* shews, how the passion for theatrical entertainments at Athens, was one of the principal causes of the degeneracy and corruption of that state.

ever else employs his time in the service of the public ; which are paid them by the treasurer. And the governor is further empowered to order him to pay such allowances as he judges proper, to those who are sick, aged, or incapable of supporting themselves, and also to give rewards to the authors of any useful inventions. An exact account of all which is constantly kept by the treasurer, which any citizen may freely examine.

BEFORE any town can be built, the ground is carefully examined, or bored, that if any useful mines of coal, iron &c. should be discovered, no buildings may be erected thereon, but it must be left for the public benefit. The streets of every town are laid out by the governor, or one appointed by him ; are thirty yards broad, straight and regular, crossing one another at right angles. And as all the houses in the same street (public buildings excepted) have the same appearance, form and dimensions, the streets are uniform and regular, and no one outvies his neighbour : but in the back part of the houses, in the yards, gardens &c. every one may build as he pleases, provided he does not injure, overlook or darken his neighbours. Proper regulations are also made, that every town may be kept clean ; and no nuisances are permitted, nor any noisy, unwholesome or disagreeable trades
allowed

allowed of in the streets; but for all such, proper places are assigned at a distance.

As our estates are but small, no one is permitted to plant any trees, so near as to spread any of their branches over his neighbour's grounds. The hedges on the south and east sides of every one's share, belong to the owner of that share, together with such other hedges as border on the public roads: and he is obliged to repair and constantly to keep up these bounds, and is answerable for whatever damage arises from a neglect of it.

At the trials of all civil and criminal causes, at the elections for senators, jurymen, inspectors and all other magistrates, and in all affairs transacted in the senate &c. the votes are given by ballot, that every one may vote freely, and without any restraint: and that bribery and corruption, as well as personal feuds and animosities, may be prevented. No one is allowed to vote in any cause, in which he himself is concerned. Nor can any one vote by proxy, those only having a power to vote, who are actually present.

THE senate is enjoined to see, that there is always kept a public stock of wheat, sufficient to serve the whole nation for two or three years,

to

to supply the inhabitants in any time of scarcity [r].

LASTLY, since history informs us, that great changes and revolutions have happened in most states, from the selfish or wicked views of one or more persons, who, to gratify their own ambitious or revengeful passions, have made no scruple to destroy the wisest government, and the best laws and regulations for the public good : so if this should ever be the case in our land; let him who shall restore our laws and constitution again to their original force and influence, be called *the father of his country*.

I am, &c.

[r] Chardin, in his travels into Persia, p. 74, informs us, that the Tartars and all the country people in the East, store up their corn and their forage in deep pits under ground; which they cover so exactly, that only they who made the pits can tell where to find them.—The Hungarians lay up their corn in caves under ground. See *Brown's travels*, p. 7. and *Varro de Re Rustica*, B. I. ch. 5. tells us, that corn will keep good fifty years in the ear in Italy, provided it is shut up close in subterranean pits or caverns, and inclosed on every side with straw.—But in 1707, a granary was discovered at Mentz in Germany, which had lain concealed 154 years; and the corn was found under a stratum of clay or loam, without being the least damaged. See *Keyser's travels*, Vol. IV. p. 192.

L E T.

LETTER VIII.

A description of the country. The situation of Salem, their chief town, and how it is built. Of the public roads, and division of the land into shares. The estates being but small and well cultivated, the country appears very beautiful. They allow of no luxury or expensive fashions, rejecting the pride and pomp of other nations, and the unnecessary refinements and embellishments of life. What their food chiefly consists of. They drink but little beer or wine, but have grateful teas, and milk in plenty. Their employments. Their labour not great, and shewn to be moderate from the consideration of the small number of persons, who in other countries provide all the necessaries of life. Their great harmony and union, and what it is owing to. None poor or in want among them. The author concludes with a pathetic description of the happiness of their state.

DEAR SIR,

Mar. 6, 1620.

I COME in the last place to give you some account of this country; and of our employments, and manner of life.

As

As the country round about us is not inhabited, we have a very considerable tract of land which we call our own. It is bounded on three sides by high and craggy rocks and mountains, and on the fourth by a large river, which for a considerable part of the year rolls with such a torrent, as to render it difficult and hazardous to cross it. The climate is temperate, the air healthy, the soil fertile, and the face of the country very pleasant.

OUR chief town is called Salem, to remind us of that peace and union which ought to reign among us. It is laid out in the form of a square, is about a mile on each side, and situated near the middle of our country, on a large fertile plain on a moderately high ground: at a distance from woods, marshes, lakes or stagnant waters; but has a fine stream of clear and wholesome water, which, at its entrance into the town, being divided into several channels, runs through most of the principal streets [1].

[1] By this description, the town of Salem is extremely well situated. For if a town stands too high, the air is sharp and bleak: if it stands in a low valley, it is generally damp and unhealthy. If it is built in too confined a place, shut up and surrounded with high hills, the free course of the wind and air is prevented, and it becomes unwholesome, and is very hot in the summer. If it is seated on the side of a hill, or is built on several little hills, it is very troublesome and uneasy both to the

THIS

THIS town is as yet but thinly built and inhabited, but is laid out in the following manner. The streets are a mile long, and about thirty yards broad, run quite streight and regular, and cross one another at right angles. And the name of every street painted in large letters, and fixt up at every corner. The houses are neat and plain, and exactly of the same form and

inhabitants and their horses, to be continually going up or down hill. But a moderately high and level ground is certainly the most convenient situation, as well as the most healthy. If a town is surrounded with large woods, they prevent the free circulation of the air, make it damp and unwholesome: and all low, marshy grounds, fens, lakes and stagnating waters give bad exhalations, and produce agues and putrid fevers. — Thus Rome becomes sickly, whenever the southern winds prevail, which come from the neighbouring fens and morasses: and the fevers which rage at Bareith in Germany every year, are thought to be owing to a large lake near it; a great part of which is over-run with weeds, which rot in autumn, and send out noxious effluvia: the cities also of Ravenna and Stutgard are become more healthy, since the neighbouring marshes and ponds have been drained. See *Keyser's travels*, Vol. II. p. 29. and Vol. III. p. 70. and Vol. IV. p. 167. — Besides these things, the soil should also be considered, for a rocky soil is very disagreeable and barren, is cold in winter, and hot in summer. A clayey soil retains the rains, and consequently makes the air damp and unhealthy. A chalky and a sandy soil are generally dry and wholesome, but they are not very fruitful: the first is slippery after rain, and the water of the last is scarce and seldom good. But the best soil in almost all respects is a good mould, a little inclining to a sand or gravel: or else a good brick earth, which last is the most fruitful.

size,

size, which makes an agreeable uniformity in all the streets. They are built at some little distance from one another, to enjoy a more free air, and to prevent accidental fires from spreading their flames to the neighbouring houses [m]. And we allow every house a little spot of ground for a yard, garden and other necessary uses: the whole with the house being about fifty two yards in front, and 129 in depth. The houses are low, consisting only of two floors, but have several rooms on each floor, and are covered on the top with a terrace, where in the summer we frequently enjoy the fresh air. Nor must I omit to mention, that in the middle of the streets, aromatic trees and shrubs are planted at proper distances, to perfume the air, and render it the more healthy [n].

[m] JUAN and Ulloa assure us, that there is a certain tree at Panama, with which they build their houses; which has this property, that if any fire is laid on the floor, or against the walls built with this wood, it only makes a hole without flaming, and is generally extinguished of itself by it's own ashes. See *their voyage to South America, Vol. I. p. 119.*—In *The Laboratory, or School of Arts*, it is said, that, if equal parts of brickdust, ashes, and filings of iron, be put into a pot with glew water, or size, and set on the fire till it is warm; and then be well stirred together; the woodwork, which is well washed over with it, and again once more, when it is dry, will be proof against fire.

[n] THESE must make the town extremely pleasant and healthy, owing to the grateful effluvia which they emit. And it is remarkable, that the isle of Ternate in the East Indies, became sickly, as soon as the Dutch cut down their clove trees.

SEVERAL

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SEVERAL of our public roads are finished, and many more are marked out over a considerable part of the country. They are twenty-five yards broad, run in streight lines, cutting one another at right angles at every mile's distance; and thereby divide the land into squares of a mile on each side. Every such square is divided into shares, between thirty-five and fifty acres, according to the nature and fruitfulness of the soil. And the owner of every share builds a house near the middle of his estate, that he may the more easily cultivate every part of it.

THUS the inhabited part of the country, being divided into small shares, is well cultivated and improved: and the houses being built at a distance from each other, surrounded with gardens and orchards, with arable fields, and green pastures abounding with sheep and cattle, the whole land presents a most delightful and agreeable prospect, and appears like one beautiful and fruitful garden.

I AM sensible that to those who place their chief happiness in pomp, grandeur and the refinements of luxury, we must appear in a mean and despicable light, void of all taste and delicacy, because we have no gold or silver to boast of, no sideboards of plate to make a show of, no grand houses, no sumptuous furniture, no fine or gaudy apparel, nor any foreign trade and commerce to introduce among us those
expensive

expensive fashions and needless superfluities, which come by degrees to be considered as the real necessities of life [o]. Our fields and gardens, our flocks herds and poultry are our only riches, supply all our wants, and with these we are contented, being happily ignorant of the vices of other nations, and free from the desire of those foolish refinements, and vain embellishments of life, which cause so many persons in Europe to destroy the peace of their own minds, and to involve themselves and others in difficulties, want and ruin. We on the contrary are extremely careful to prevent the introduction of luxury, and of that pride of life, which are the bane of public virtue, the great source of corruption of manners, and have been the ruin of all the most flourishing states in the world [p].

[o] SCOPAS the rich Thessalian, being asked by a friend for a piece of furniture, which he thought was of no use to him, because it was superfluous. He replied; alas, my friend, the chief happiness of our lives consists in those things which are useless and superfluous, and not in those which are necessary. *See Plutarch on covetousness, and his life of Cato the Censor.*

[p] So long as the Persians, Greeks and Romans were poor, and lived temperately, they were free, virtuous and happy: but as soon as riches came among them, they immediately sunk into an effeminate and luxurious life. Then selfishness and ambition, a general disregard to the public good, and a universal dissoluteness of manners succeeded, and they soon lost their liberty and virtue. *See Montagu's reflections on the rise and fall of the ancient Republics.*—Cyrus having asked Cræsus, how he could most effectually enslave the Lydians, who had revolted

You may possibly think that thirty-five or even fifty acres of land, is not enough to sup-

from him : he advised him to debauch their manners, and to encourage intemperance among them : for the chains of luxury are easily borne, and the hardest to break of any in the world. Accordingly Cyrus commanded their arms to be taken from them, erected taverns, gaming houses and stews ; enjoined them to wear vests and buskins, and to teach their sons to sing, to play on the harp, and to frequent the public houses. And thus that nation which before was remarkable for their industry and valour, now dissolved in ease and luxury, soon became a prey to their own sloth and laziness. See *Justin, B. I. ch. 7. and Herodotus, B. I.*—And to persons, who know any thing of the extravagance which prevails in many parts of Europe, it must plainly appear, that there are several states in it, which seem to advance with a rapid progress to their ruin. *Stanyan in his Account of Switzerland, p. 147, 148.* tells us, that even the Switzers, who have been remarkable for many ages, for great candour in their dealings, and simplicity in their dress and manners, have of late years had luxury and corruption of manners introduced among them. And that with regard to dress, if the magistrates had not wisely interposed, and put a curb upon their vanity by prohibiting all costly apparel, they would very probably have ruined themselves by it. And this account is confirmed by *Keyser, Vol. I. p. 2, and 3.* who assures us, that even in Switzerland, luxury, pomp and an insatiation for every thing that is foreign and costly have lately spread themselves, though good regulations have not been wanting nor proper endeavours to restrain them : but it is there, as it is in other places, many wholesome laws are made, but little observed. At Geneva, the very richest inhabitants are not allowed a service of plate in the city ; and on that very account it is the more frequent and costly at their country houses. And in some parts of Switzerland, where the women are still under sumptuary laws, in re-

port a man who has a large family: but we find

spect of fine cloaths and new fashions; they repair, as soon as the summer permits them, to the German Spaw, there to give a full scope to their gaiety, in spite of any restraints of their own laws at home.—I wish I could say better things of the English, but what vast sums of money are now dedicated to pleasure among us, squandered away upon finery and trifles, lost in gaming, lavished away upon delicacies and profuse entertainments, and dissipated in levity and folly, in sensual gratifications and indulgencies, instead of being employed for the good and happiness of others, in generous and benevolent actions, while so many of their fellow creatures are poor and miserable about them? Our numerous taverns and ale-houses encourage idleness, drinking and unnecessary expences, and are the bane and ruin of many: and our places of public diversions administer so many temptations, that people must have a great deal of resolution and self denial, to stem the torrent of an idle and pleasurable life, and not be led into a greater expence than their income will support. And even those young persons who are still educated in a sober frugal and virtuous course; yet for want of experience and knowledge of the world, they are soon carried away by the stream of custom and fashion into the paths of gaiety and pleasure, which often end in vice and ruin. *Mr. Cole, in his discourses on Luxury*, justly observes, that an ostentatious extravagance is continually displaying itself at London amongst all ranks and conditions of men. An emulous endeavour to outvie each other in all the elegant accommodations of life, seems to be not only the ruling principle of a few, but the main ambition of a vast majority, the characteristic and almost universal passion of the age. Inasmuch that it is doubtful, whether the commerce of vanity and intemperance be not the principal traffick of the nation; and whether vice and folly do not support as great a trade amongst us, as all the arts and sciences, which are any wise necessary or serviceable to the common-wealth.—I shall conclude this note with *Middleton's* remarkable words in his *life of Cicero*, Vol.

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it fully sufficient [q]. We have not only corn of all sorts, beeves, sheep and hogs, but plenty of fowls, ducks, geese, turkies and pidgeons: the neighbouring mountains also afford us goats, wild fowl and game; and our rivers and brooks

I. p. 495. England, says he, is become the seat of liberty, plenty and letters, flourishing in all arts and refinements of civil life, yet running perhaps the same course which Rome itself had run before it: from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline, and corruption of manners: till by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey at last to some hardy oppressor: and with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, it sinks gradually again into it's original barbarism.

[q] FROM the best enquiries I can make, I find that nine acres of good arable land is enough for any family for all sorts of corn: three of which may be sowed one year with wheat, and then lie fallow for one year, and on the third year be sowed with barley, oats or pease for their horses, hogs and poultry. One acre together with their hedges, would be sufficient for timber, and underwood for firing, if they should have no coal, peat or turf. The house, yard, barns and stable, might take up one acre more: and two acres of garden ground would be enough for all sorts of fruit, herbs and roots. And the remaining land would afford sufficient pasture for two or three cows, as many horses, and twenty sheep, which seems to be as much cattle as a Cessarean would desire. And if their garden was too small, they might plant some fruit trees for an orchard at proper distances in their fields.—The trustees of the colony of Georgia gave every man fifty acres, without any regard to the goodness of the ground: of which they were allowed a little spot of sixty feet in front, and ninety feet in depth in a town, and the rest in the country. See Moore's *Voyage to Georgia*, p. 7.

are full of fish. Our gardens and orchards supply us with most of the fruits, herbs, pulse and roots which grow in Europe, besides those which are the natives of this country : and in the summer we dry many of our figs, grapes, and other fruits for our winter stores. Our bees also give us abundance of honey ; and we have such plenty of chesnuts, that we feed our hogs with them, which makes their flesh very good, firm and wholesome.

WE drink no distilled spirits, except in cases of sickness : and but seldom wine, beer or such fermented liquors : and bring up our children to water only. It is to this abstinence that we attribute in a great measure our robust and healthy constitutions, and the calm, free, and undisturbed exercise of our rational powers [r].

[r] MY author agrees here with *Sydenham*, who observes that water is at this time, the common drink of the greatest part of mankind : who are happier in their poverty, than we are with all our luxury and abundance. This is confirmed by the many diseases, with which we are afflicted on this account : besides the injury done to the mind by volatilizing it too much, and suggesting vain and idle thoughts instead of solid reasonings : and thus rendring us drolls and buffoons instead of wise men. *See the third Edition, p. 492.* — And history universally assures us, that all those nations, who use only water for their constant drink, are remarkable for their health, strength of body, and long life. And *Kolben* observes, that such of the Hottentots as drink no wine nor strong liquors live very long, and are liable to few distempers : whereas those who drink strong liquors,
Nor

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Nor do we want grateful teas, which we make of the wholesome herbs, that grow among us or on the neighbouring mountains, which recruit our strength and revive our spirits, without intoxicating the head. We are also lovers of milk, and have plenty of it: and I dont doubt but you will readily recollect the excellent character, which Homer gives the ancient Scythians, when he calls them *Milk eaters, the most just of men*, because they had few wants, and were contented with a plain and simple diet [s].

Our chief employment consists in gardening and husbandry, and looking after our flocks and cattle: an employment the most innocent and useful, nay even the most indispensable of all: and which alone affords an abundant supply for

shorten their days; and are afflicted with diseases before unknown to them. See his *present state of the Cape of Good Hope*, Vol. I. p. 48. — Such also was the happy state of the Indians on the continent of North America, till the Europeans introduced spirituous liquors among them, which have almost destroyed several of those nations: though they have often complained to our English governors, and intreated them that no such liquors should be permitted to be sent to them. But to no purpose, for the ruin and destruction of thousands is little regarded by wicked and avaritious men, if they can gain any thing by it. — See also *Douglasi's state of the British settlements in North America*, Vol. II. p. 118.

[s] *Homer's Iliad*. B. XIII. line 5. Bochart apprehends that the people here referred to were the ancient Scythians who inhabited the places near the Euxine sea. See his *Phaleg*, p. 197.

the life and happiness of every one [1]. And some of our leisure hours we spend in several mechanical trades, such as those of carpenters, turners, and the like, in which many of our people are great proficient: and the rest of our time we devote to the improvement of our children, and of our own minds. The women take care of the household affairs, and the dairy and poultry, and spin the cotton, flax, and wool. And every child is enured to labour, suitable to it's age and strength, for none are permitted to be idle.

BUT don't mistake me, as if we were continually employed in a course of labour and

[1] ROLLIN justly observes, that no trade can be compared to agriculture, upon which life itself depends; and which only the depravity of our manners can render contemptible. Though gold and silver should be destroyed, though diamonds and pearls should remain hid in the earth and sea, though commerce with other nations should be prohibited, though all the arts which have no other object than embellishment and splendor should be abolished; yet gardening and agriculture with a few other necessary trades would furnish us with all those things, which are needful for the subsistence, the welfare and happiness of mankind. In ancient times they were in the highest esteem; and among the Assyrians and Persians, those governors were rewarded, in whose jurisdiction the lands were well cultivated, and those were punished, who neglected this part of their duty. And at Rome for several ages, the senators cultivated their grounds with their own hands, and their consuls and dictators were sometimes taken from following the plough. See his *Ancient History*, Vol. X. on agriculture.

drudgery:

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drudgery : no, there is no necessity for this, for the necessaries and conveniencies of life are easily procured[*u*]. This will appear at once obvious to you, if you consider how great a part of mankind in other countries live indolent lives : for not to mention the nobility, gentry, and ladies ; what numbers

[*u*] THE character which Salmon gives the inhabitants of St. Helena; as he found them to be in 1701; seems to resemble in some particulars that of the Cessarès. But as there are three or four hundred soldiers generally residing in that island, and the East India ships frequently touch there, their virtue and innocence must be greatly corrupted. — They were, says Salmon, of a fresh ruddy complexion and robust constitutions, employing themselves in the healthy exercises of gardening and husbandry : and seemed to me to be the most honest, inoffensive, and hospitable people I had met with. I asked some of them, if they had no curiosity to see the rest of the world, of which they had heard so many fine things : and how they could be contented to confine themselves to an island scarce twenty-one miles round, and separated from the rest of mankind ? — To which they answered, that they enjoyed all the necessaries of life in great plenty, that they were neither parched with excessive heat, nor pinched with cold ; that they lived in perfect security, in no danger from enemies, robbers or wild beasts ; had no rigorous seasons, and were happy in a continual course of good health. — That as there were no rich men among them ; scarce any one being worth more than a thousand dollars (or 225 pounds sterling) : so there were no poor in the island, no man hardly being worth less than 400 dollars (or 90 pounds) : and that no one was obliged to more labour, than was necessary to keep him in health. — That if they should transport themselves to any other country, they understood that their small fortunes would scarce preserve them from want : besides which they would be exposed to innumerable hazards and hardships, which they knew nothing of, but from the report of their countrymen.

of tradesmen and artificers are there, whose whole employments contribute to nothing but luxury and pleasure, or to promote the grandeur, splendor, and pride of life. Add to these, the military part of the nation; with the slothful and debauched, who waste their time in taverns, alehouses, in trifling diversions and amusements [x]. From whence it plainly appears, that the number of those, by whose labour and industry all the necessaries and real conveniences of life for the whole nation are obtained, is much less than you could at first imagine.

BEFORE I conclude this letter, give me leave to observe that such is our happy state, that, during the whole time we have now lived together in this country, our harmony and union have not been interrupted by any broils or civil dissensions. This domestic peace is to be ascribed (under God) to the quiet and peaceable tempers of those persons, whom we made choice of to take with us: together with the wisdom of our laws, the mildness of the government, the

[x] HAD my author been an Englishman, he would have added the gypsies and beggars, who to the great scandal of our government are very numerous. Whereas no beggars are tolerated at Geneva, *see Keyser, Vol. I. p. 387.* And the king of Sardinia will suffer no beggar to live in his territories by the sweat of another's brow; nay it has been made penal at Turin, to relieve a strolling beggar. *See Bishop Berkeley's Miscellanies, p. 107.*

prudent

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prudent conduct of our governor and magistrates, and that concord and unanimity which have hitherto subsisted among them [y].

HERE poverty and want are unknown, as every one enjoys an equal share of land with his neighbours: and the public stock is obliged to relieve those who meet with any misfortune. Covetousness, with all those passions which arise from it, and often prove so destructive to others, is banished from a country, where no one can engross estates, and heap up riches. Vice and idleness are carefully discouraged; virtue and industry are made fashionable, and ge-

[y] THERE is in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1750 a letter from Halifax in Nova Scotia, dated December 7, 1749, which gives the following instructive account of the good effects of a wise and prudent conduct in governor Cornwallis, who landed there June 21, 1749, with 2000 persons, being the first settlers in that place. — Who were at first (says this letter), tumultuous and refractory, full of discontents and murmurings, capricious in demanding favours, not long satisfied with them, and often abusing them by a restless importunity for more: yet in a few months, by his prudent management and proper generosity, by his condescension, candour, and affability, he has turned a mad tumultuous rabble into a tractable and quiet people: who now work with ten times the alacrity they did at first, and are become patient under disappointments: and when they are denied any thing, they conclude their petition to have been unreasonable, from a firm persuasion that their governor has their true interest at heart, and that they cannot ask any thing with reason, but what he grants with pleasure.

nerosity

nerosity and probity are the only steps to honour among us [z].

O HAPPY state! founded upon and conducted by the principles of reason, goodness, and equity. Where the equal division of the land, and the moderate quantity allowed every one, without any foreign commerce, restrain pride, ambition, and luxury, and establish temperance and industry: while every one is contented and cheerful, crowned with liberty and plenty, possessing all the blessings of a calm country life, and peaceably enjoying the fruits of his own labour.

[z] A NOBLE writer in his *Dialogues of the Dead*, p. 21, justly observes, that to watch over the morals of a people, and to discourage whatever may taint or corrupt them, is one of the principal objects of a wise legislature. And certainly (says he) that is the happiest country, which has most virtue in it: and to the eye of right reason, the poorest Swiss Canton is a much more noble state than even the kingdom of France, if it has more liberty, better morals, a more settled tranquillity, more moderation in prosperity, and more firmness in danger.—Such seems to be the happy state of the Phœnicians in Africa; who are of so good and quiet a disposition, and so well instructed in what is just and right, that a man who does ill, is the abomination of the whole nation. And their chiefs rule with so much moderation, that every act of government seems rather an act of the people than of their governors. They are very industrious and frugal, of great humanity, very rarely angry, but mild; and yet brave and courageous: and drink nothing stronger than water. See *Moor's travels into Africa*, p. 30, 32, 33 and 39.

O HAPPY

O HAPPY people! how propitiously has a kind providence crowned all your toils and difficulties. You are now a flourishing colony, in the quiet and undisturbed possession of a country spacious and fertile, which by easy labour and due cultivation yields you every thing, that is necessary to render life agreeable and comfortable: free from the disquieting fears and dread of poverty, the pride and insolence of imperious power, and the tyranny of the merciless and cruel oppressor. And if ever we should be known to the world, let us be known as a wise and a brave nation, the contemners of riches, the avowed enemies to luxury, the dread of tyrants, and the guardians and preservers of liberty. A people active, strong and healthy, enur'd to labour, plain in our dress, our houses and furniture, temperate in our diet, and of great simplicity of life and manners: a people, whose ruling principles are piety and gratitude to God, an ardent love of our country, and a sincere regard for the public good; principles, which must always influence us to every noble and worthy pursuit.

Excuse, my dear friend, the warmth of an old man, glowing with love for a people, with whom he has shared a course of difficulties, and in whose welfare he is deeply interested. Who is
now

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now fully rewarded by the pleasure and satisfaction he feels, in finding that our generous and disinterested scheme and well-designed endeavours have proved (with the blessing of God) so greatly successful, even far beyond our most sanguine hopes and flattering expectations.

I am, &c.

LET.

L E T T E R IX.

Early marriages encouraged among them, by giving an estate to every person on his marriage. Their friends and relations assist them to build their house, and plant and stock their farm. They are likely to double their numbers every twenty-five years. The children are instructed in several arts and sciences: in which the learned terms of art are thrown aside, and easy ones substituted in their stead. The advantage of the sumptuary laws. The sons of the governor are educated under the inspection of the senate, and why? The children are taught to sing psalms and moral songs. The people assemble four times in a year at Salem. The particular form of public worship. The conclusion.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE already told you, that we allow of no trade or correspondence to be carried on with the Spaniards in Chili: on which account we have but lately heard, from the neighbouring Indians, of the truce which was concluded

cluded in 1609 for twelve years, between Spain and the Seven United Provinces. This truce being not yet expired, gives me great hopes, that my letters will be safely conveyed to you: I shall therefore hasten to finish them, and shall intrust them to an Indian, who is going to Baldivia, and has promised to deliver them to the captain of the first ship, that sets sail from thence for Spain, and to engage him faithfully to send them from thence by a Dutch ship to Amsterdam.

EARLY marriages are encouraged among us, not only because the strength and power of a state consists in the number of it's inhabitants: but also because such marriages are the best means of preserving sobriety and virtue, and preventing vice and debauchery [a]. Every

[a] SINCE God has implanted the desire of marriage in young persons of both sexes, to answer the wise ends of continuing the human race, of loving and mutually assisting one another, and of educating their children in a sober and virtuous course: whatever prevents such early marriages as nature dictates, is one great cause of that corruption of manners, and of those vicious courses, which our young people fall into. And if we examine the manners of the English nation, we shall easily see, that it is the extravagance of the present age, the destructive love and pursuit of pleasure, and the polite education which we give our children, that prevent our young people from marrying: as they are unable to live in that elegant manner in which they have been brought up, and to bear the expences which attend the married state, since every one, when single, wants to make a shew above what he can really afford. If so,

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one is therefore entitled on his marriage to an estate equal to his neighbours, and sufficient to maintain himself and family. But you will ask how a young couple, having no house or barns &c. ready built on their land, no cattle, or corn nor proper instruments for husbandry, will be able to undertake the cultivation of such an estate? But this objection will soon cease, when I inform you that it is a constant custom among us, for the young men to employ themselves for a year or two before they marry, and mutually to assist one another in framing houses, in making proper household goods and furniture for them, and also the necessary implements for husbandry [b]. And when any marriage is concluded

what sober man would venture to marry a woman, who has been educated in a polite and genteel manner above her circumstances? as it must be a constant source of uneasiness to a husband, to find his wife discontented with that state of life, which their fortune or trade will but just support. Besides, such women being early initiated into pleasure, and attached to the frequent change of fashions, the glitter of finery and the folly and extravagance of dress and shew; what fortune will be sufficient to gratify their enlarged desires? Having their minds uncultivated, what wretched companions must they make; and how destructive must their manner of life be to all conjugal felicity, and to every rational and domestic virtue?

[b] Thus the Peasants in Norway, as Bishop Pontoppidan tells us, are dextrous and ingenious, never employing any hatters, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, weavers, carpenters, smiths or joiners, nor do they buy any goods in the towns; but all these trades are exercised at every farm-house: and they think a boy can never be an useful member of society, nor a valuable man,

upon.

upon, and the parties are contracted to each other; upon their application to the senate,

without making himself (in some degree) a master of all these trades. And he adds, that the Swedish Peasants do the same. *See his natural history of Norway, p. 245.*—Mr. Rousseau also in his *Letter to D' Alembert against erecting a Theatre at Geneva*, tells us of a people near Neufchatel in Switzerland, who dwell on a mountain which is covered with habitations, each of which is built in the middle of the lands of the owner, and affords the numerous inhabitants the tranquillity of retirement, with the sweets of society. These happy people live free from taxes, imposts and oppressions, cultivate their own lands with all possible care, and employ their leisure hours in many handicraft trades. When the deep snows in the winter prevent them from going abroad, every man shuts himself up with his numerous family in a neat wooden house of his own building, where he employs himself in useful and amusing exercises, which prevent his being tired with his solitude, and preserve his health. No carpenter, lock-smith, glazier or turner ever enters their country, for they all work at those trades themselves. They make a variety of different things in steel, wood, or paste-board, which they sell to foreigners; some of which are sent as far as Paris, and, among the rest, some wooden clocks: they also make some of metal, and they even carry their ingenuity so far as to make watches. But what seems almost incredible, is that every man understands all the different branches, into which the watch-maker's business is divided, and makes the several tools himself; so that you would take his room to be the shop of a mechanic, or the closet of some experimental Philosopher. They also make cranes, spectacles, pumps, barometers, camera-obscura's, &c: they understand something of designing, and know how to paint. Their chief amusement is to sing Psalms with their wives and children, and it is amazing to hear their strong and nervous harmony. They have also useful books, and are tolerably well instructed, and reason sensibly.

leave

leave is given them to chuse their estate, and then their parents, friends and relations assist them to erect their house and other necessary buildings, to plant their garden and orchard, and inclose their fields. They also present them with corn and other necessary food, with all sorts of poultry, and cattle sufficient to stock their little farm [c]. This is such an inducement to matrimony, that an old batchelor or maid is scarce known among us: and as early marriages produce a greater number of children than later ones, they make our colony increase so fast, that, by the best computation we can form, we reckon we shall double our numbers in about twenty-five years [d]. Nevertheless we are under no

sibly upon most subjects; and treated Mr. Rousseau with great hospitality.

[c] THUS when any of the Indians at the Isthmus of Darien in America, marries his daughter, he invites all his neighbours to a feast. The men who come to the wedding, bring their axes with them; the women bring Indian corn; the boys fruits and roots, and the girls, fowls and eggs, for none come empty handed. As soon as the marriage ceremony is over, the men take up their axes, and go to the woods, where a spot is fixed upon for the residence of the young couple. There they fall to work, cutting down the woods, and clearing the ground; and as fast as they clear it, the women and children plant it with corn, or whatever else is suitable at that season. They also build a little hut for the new married couple to dwell in; and thus continue about seven days, working with the greatest vigour and alacrity imaginable. See *Waser's voyage*, p. 164, 165.

[d] THIS great increase of the Cessares is confirmed by what a learned and ingenious gentleman assures us to be the case in

apprehensions of being too numerous ; because the uninhabited tract of land all around us is so large, as to require some centuries before it can be fully peopled. And our children, who are generally numerous, are so far from being a burden to us, that on the contrary they are the greatest blessings, chearfully assisting us (as far as they can) in our employments, being brought up from their infancy to diligence and industry,

our English colonies on the continent of North America : where it being easy to obtain land (which with moderate labour will afford a good subsistence) people marry more early in life ; from whence arises a numerous off-spring, about eight children upon an average springing from every marriage, and consequently there is a quick peopling of those countries. And their common rate of increase, where they are not molested by enemies, is doubling their numbers every twenty-five years, exclusive of the accession of foreigners. *See the Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to her Colonies, 2d Edition, p. 23, 36 and 51.*—Early marriages seem also to prevail in Switzerland, for Stanyan says, that one generally finds there nine or ten children in a family, and sometimes double that number. *See his Account of Switzerland, p. 143, 144.*—The greatest number of legitimate children which I have yet heard of, begotten by one man, is expressed in the following epitaph in Heydon church yard in Yorkshire. Here lies William Sturton of Patrington who died in 1726. He had by his first wife twenty-seven children, and by his second seventeen, in all forty four.—At Conway also in Carnarvonshire is this epitaph : Here lies the body of Nicholas Hookes, of Conway, gentleman, who was the forty first child of his father William Hookes Esq; by Alice his wife ; and was himself the father of twenty-seven children : he died March 20, 1637.

and

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and to such labour or business, as is suitable to their age and sex [e].

IN our chief town, we have a public library, a collection of natural curiosities, and models for making every useful implement and machine. In our public schools, the children are taught some parts of the mathematics, because they tend to make a man perform mechanical works much more perfectly than he can do without them. We also give them some knowledge of history, chronology, geography, philosophy, and astronomy: sciences which enlarge the powers of the mind, enoble it's views, and bring it to acquire a justness and loftiness of sentiment, and which, from the contemplation of the beauty, order and harmony which are diffused through the universe, lead us by degrees to the one supreme, infinite, uncreated Cause of all things, the author of all excellence, and the center of all perfection. In meditating on whose wisdom, greatness and goodness, the human mind is lost in wonder, and over-whelmed in transports of gratitude, esteem and adoration. But I must

[e] It is well known, that in some parts of Germany, the children are brought up to make toys and several other things at those ages, when the children in England are good for nothing but to break them. And Bishop Berkeley says, that in Holland a child of five year's of age is often maintained by its own labour. See his *Miscellanies*, p. 102 and 160.

observe, that in all these sciences, we have thrown aside the learned terms of art, and have introduced such new ones, as are easy and on a level with the capacities of our children [f].

Thus they are brought up to be sober and modest, enured to labour and industry, and instructed in every branch of useful knowledge, and are not educated in a state of softness and indolence, of levity and folly. And as our laws enjoin a great simplicity and plainness both in furniture and apparel, our women are deprived of those vain and empty toys, and trifling ornaments, which engross the attention of the female sex in other countries, and employ the greatest part of their time, as they unhappily look upon a shewy and gaudy dress, and fine furniture, to be essential to their happiness, meerly from a bad education, and an ignorance of what is truly valuable. Whereas our young women are

[f] THIS is an excellent method, which I wish was introduced among us: for if we really desire that young persons should take a delight and improve in such studies, we ought to employ the most easy and familiar terms. My author thought that even the Dutch were deficient in this particular; and yet they are remarkable for having translated many of the Greek terms of art into their own language. — And why might not a *Telescope* from *τηλε* *far*, and *σκοπειν* *to view*, be also called by us a *far viewer*: would it not convey at once a more clear idea of the use and nature of this instrument to young persons, than if we used a learned term taken from the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians or Chinese?

trained

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trained up to be loving, frugal and industrious wives, and good mothers: and our young men to be diligent in their employments, kind husbands, and prudent fathers: by which means our marriages are crowned with domestic peace, endearing comfort, and heart-felt happiness.

THERE is one particular I ought not to omit, which is, that as we consider all the children in general to belong to the whole community, and therefore their education is conducted under the public eye: so in a more particular manner the sons of the governor are placed under the inspection of the senate. For history and long experience shew that the multiplicity of business which engages the attention of the father, and the too great fondness and affection of the mother, have caused the education of the children of even the greatest and best princes to be very defective. A remarkable instance of this kind we have in Cambyfes, the son of Cyrus king of Persia. Cyrus, whom historians have celebrated as a wise, brave, and great king, was educated in the public schools in Persia, to which he chiefly owed his most shining accomplishments. But his son Cambyfes, who was educated under the direction of the queen, proved to be one of the worst of princes. For she had been brought up in Media, where vanity and voluptuousness reigned in the highest degree; and having entertained exalted ideas of grandeur,

deur, luxury and magnificence, and such extravagant notions of regal prerogative, as are utterly inconsistent with the happiness of the people; she instilled the same into her son. Hence he became tyrannical, cruel and oppressive, and devoted to all kinds of excesses. This was the case of many other princes of that empire, infomuch that Plato justly observes, that one chief cause of the ruin of the Persian state was the bad education of their princes [g].

THE senate therefore carefully examines into the education, conduct and behaviour of the governor's sons: they are brought up at the public schools with the other children, habituated to equal diligence and industry, and instructed in the principles of religion and virtue, justice and equity, and inflexible honour and probity. They are also obliged to study our laws, to conform themselves to them, and to obey the magistrates equally with the lowest subject. And when they attain a proper age, they attend the public trials of civil and criminal causes, that they may learn to judge rightly, and may thereby be the fitter to govern, whenever any one of them shall be called to that important trust.

[g] *Plato de leg. lib. 3.*

BEFORE

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BEFORE I leave this subject of the education of our children, I must not neglect to acquaint you, that we bring them up to sing psalms and such moral songs, as tend to excite to piety, and the performance of every generous and worthy action, to encourage purity of heart and manners, and a wise and regular course of life. These are infinitely more useful and instructive than the amorous, and other trifling and foolish songs, which are too often used in other countries. And whenever any person is buried, a certain number of these children walk before the corpse, and sing some suitable hymns.

WE have a meeting, as was before observed, of a great number of our people at the town of Salem, on the first Monday in January, April, July and October. In the morning we assemble together at the church to return our grateful acknowledgements to the fountain of all good for his blessings to us, to intreat the continuance of his favour, and beseech him to make us a happy and an united people. When the morning service (which is but short) is over, the governor and senators go to the senate house, to hear and determine all disputes, to attend to the complaints of the injured, to redress their grievances, and to punish every criminal and oppressor. At these times also every in-

spector is examined with regard to the state of
 the people under his care: and every master
 and mistress of the public schools, concerning
 the behaviour and improvement of the children
 under them. The children also are brought
 before the assembly, and examined by the go-
 vernor in those branches of knowledge, in which
 they have been instructed; they also produce
 samples of their work, the boys in several sorts
 of handicraft trades, and the girls in sowing,
 knitting and spinning: and then the governor
 publickly distributes rewards to those of every
 different age, who excell the rest. He also gives
 rewards to such parents, as have been remark-
 ably diligent in instructing their children, and
 thereby have been worthy examples to others.

WITH regard to the public worship of God;
 though we allow a free toleration to all religious
 sects, yet we have hitherto been so happy, as to
 unite together in one society. Several forms of
 prayer have been drawn up by our ministers,
 which are short and rational, and chiefly in the
 words of scripture, that so no one may have any
 just reason to be offended. The minister makes
 use of one of these forms before sermon, and
 afterwards concludes the service with a prayer
 of his own composing; by which method we
 have united the advocates and opposers of a
 liturgy But if any church chuses to alter any

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of the forms, or to omit them intirely, it is always left to the determination of the majority of the members of that church, to prevent all impositions.

THUS have I given you a full answer to all your enquiries : and I believe you will not easily find a better form of government, where the liberty and happiness of every individual is more carefully consulted ; where every tendency to vice and licentiousness is more effectually discouraged ; and where more care is taken of the right education of the children, upon which the welfare of posterity greatly depends. What alterations may hereafter be introduced among us, when the present generation is dead (who by their having lived in Europe, are thereby convinced of the great use and necessity of these regulations) I cannot say. But happy will it be for our children, if they steadily pursue the same plan, adhere to the same laws, and suffer nothing to destroy that right disposition of the heart and mind, and that amiable simplicity of life and manners, which at present flourish among us.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your sincere Friend

and affectionate humble Servant,

From the town of Salem.
June 19, 1620.

J. VANDER NECK.

